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COVER

BLACK POWER

At 47, General Black has become critical of his hero Napoleon. But his own appetite for conquest remains fierce. Newly married in colonialist Barbados, he wants to add the aging New York Daily News to a publishing empire that spans four continents. Black says that reports of the death of grief are premature. Newspapers are poised to regain the advertising they lost to television. — 36

SPORTS

THE OLYMPICS HIT THEIR STRIDE

Thousands of athletes from 179 countries marched into Barcelona's Montjuïc Stadium for a fanciful and festive ceremony launching the XIV Summer Games. The next two weeks of intense competition will put the eager Olympic athletes, and their colorful host city, to the ultimate test. — 26



CANADA

HEADING FOR THE POLLS?

As the federal government continues attempts to win Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa back to the constitutional negotiating table, preparations were under way for another possible course of action: a fall election, with an unprecedented constitutional debate as the central issue. — 10





Free Trade Or Fair Trade?

Washington's new tax on Ontario beer imports, increasing the brew's price in the United States by \$3.84 for a case of 24, is a stark reminder that free trade agreements are no substitute for fair trade practices. The day before Canada, the United States and Mexico began the final stages of negotiating a continental free trade accord, Washington announced the onerous 25-per-cent tariff on Ontario beer. The day after, the United States others that have broken out since Canada and the United States signed the Free Trade Agreement in 1988. And it will lead to calls for the FTA's cancellation. That is not a realistic solution—particularly during an economic depression.

The FTA has many weaknesses, including the fact that by gradually removing tariffs it will also remove the only viable weapon for enforcing the terms of the vitally important auto pact with the Americans (the 1965 accord cost accounts for 131,000 Canadian jobs). Because trade between the two countries is the largest in the world, there will always be disruptions and dangers. They will grow even more complex when Mexico enters the trade equation. And it would be a serious mistake for any of the three countries to assume that a new accord will not need constant attention and improvement. Ottawa made essentially that mistake after the FTA was signed and it is now paying the price.

This time, Canadian officials should begin negotiating a more effective, fair and binding dispute-settlement panel as soon as the three-country framework is in place. They should also start on opening talks to establish a U.S.-Canada-Mexico trade policy commission at a senior government level. It would be charged with keeping observers on developments in the accord and gradually reducing the dispute elements that will still remain after a take-effect. Only then will there be a chance of realizing the assumed prosperity that traditional free trade accords are designed to provide.



Washington's Capitol, disruptive and disruptive will grow more complex when Mexico signs on.

Kevin W. Doyle



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OPENING NOTES

Big-time flapjacks, a canine controversy and a Democratic sign for the times



No man is an island

After six years ruling Canada's smallest province, P.E.I. Premier Joe Ghis is contemplating new political horizons. The 47-year-old Harvard-trained lawyer, who led the provincial Liberals to resounding victories in 1986 and 1990, has been talking privately to federal Liberal party officials about running for Parliament in the next election. According to party sources in Atlantic Canada, Ghis is lured with the prospect of the status of Prince Edward Island's 130,000 residents—which, sold out on Ghis, takes only "about an hour a day"—and is searching for bigger challenges. Several East Coast party officials, looking for powerful electoral material in the event of a Liberal win in the next general election, would clearly be eager to see the respected premier appear on the federal list. But there is at least one early obstacle to Ghis's ambitions: one of the four Liberals who now hold all of the Island's federal seats would have to step aside.

MAKING IT BIG

After grandfishing for years about the small portions served at fashionable restaurants, many New Yorkers are now adopting their world-class appetite at eateries where quantity is king. One popular new chain specializes in the cuisine of a nation renowned for its amount of food it produces: Canada. Winnipeg-born Sheldon Gershowitz, 48, opened his first Royal Canadian Pancake House in lower Manhattan three years ago, offering auto-fish-white pancakes and portions of muffins and baked beans that he says are big enough to satisfy a B.C.

hamburger's appetite. Business is so good that Gershowitz opened another outlet in the city's midtown business district in February, and he plans to open a third this fall. The restaurateur claims that he has spent months researching traditional Canadian pancake recipes, from the sprawling wheat rolls of Saskatchewan to the meaty meatloaf portions of Newfoundland. The Canada theme also carries over into the decor of the restaurants, dominated by posters at a 1942 photograph showing Gershowitz's mother sitting on a bench in the middle of a Saskatchewan wheat field. "We're away from the American corn porridge," said Gershowitz. "We're traditionally Canadian in that respect."

WHAT HAPPENED TO BRA-BURNING?

During the July 19 weekend, female demonstrators across the country held their breasts in support of Gaura Jassi, a university student arrested last year in Guelph, Ont., for giving lesbians. Some comments:

"Hey hey, ho ho, patriarchy's got to go!"

—*protesters' chant in Waterloo, Ont.*

"Support Gwen Jacobs. Bare your breasts!"

—*banner held by two men at the Molson Indy in Toronto*

"My buddy and me thought, hey, great way to spend Sunday afternoon looking at naked women."

—*Clinton Gerald Fiedler, who brought his camera to a demonstration on Parliament Hill*

"If no city was accepted, we would probably get minimum wage."

—*Winnipeg stripper Nikita Klossoff, in a tape message*

"The producers have a lot of growing up to do." —*Gwen Jacobs*

THE AGONY AND THE ECSTASY

As the Olympics continue in Barcelona, participants contemplate the Games of summer, their aspirations and rewards.

"People want to be in there when she wins a gold. It could add \$800 million to her value."

—*James Jolly, spokesman for the promoter agency Procter & K&H, answering José Estess*

"It is not fair that my team has to train under such conditions—I could die every day."

—*middle-distance runner Alcideus Bure, on the danger of being shot while training in his native Eritrea*

"As long as those bodies are lying on by far water with no toilets, I'll be at the pool."

—*U.S. basketball player Charles Barkley, during a Dream Team stopover in Monte Carlo*

"It's an intrinsic failure of our country—not just its attitude but its arts and business, in our children's eyes—that the only real way to achieve is to be No. 1. That's a tragedy."

—*Andy Higgins, coach of Canadian decathlete Mitchell Smith*

"There is no doubt that I have the support of the Olympic movement."

—*E.C. president Juan Antonio Samaranch, before announcing that he will resign a fourth time*

A CAMPAIGN AT THE CROSSROADS

When Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton chose Toronto's St. Paul Gore as his meeting place, he turned the street post on a quiet, leafy intersection in Little Italy, west of downtown Toronto, into a sign of the times. It marks the intersection of Clinton and Gore streets. But residents appear unimpressed. "The Clinton, they say he's a nice guy," said Helen Charnick, residing on the first porch of her two-story brick house at 5 Gore St., where she has lived for 44 of her 66 years. "But who knows? Once they get into office, they always change." American political pundits have hailed Clinton's running mate as a safe (reprovision) over George Bush's much-maligned vice-presidential pick, Dan Quayle. But if the Toronto street corner is any indication, the Republican campaign may get bile comfort: Gore Street is a dead-end.



Whisky and sewer pipes

As in other areas of discourse, the House of Commons defies a politically correct language is constantly evolving. As early as March, 1973, to banish the word "transgression" from the lexicon of parliamentary talk by calling a fellow MP's "parliamentary lapses and political blots." Since then, members have groped for ways to criticize each other without risking official censure or even expulsion from the Commons. Among the low points in the



Prime Minister of altering an explicit punishment by a backwater "Trustee" later claimed that he had rarely and "black-and-white." Who Parliament reinforces this ill- or earlier, to discuss constitutional proposals—MPs may have to watch their tongues more closely than last fall, after Gary backwaterer William Rempel was accused of calling Liberal Sheila Copps a "slut," and Jack Shultz, another government member, allegedly referred to NDP MP Howard McCurdy, the only black member in the Commons, as "Santitas." Speaker John Fraser said that he would examine the need for rules on sexual and racist remarks.

Going to the dogs

With 300,000 members, the Russian Canine Federation claims to be the country's largest association of dog owners. The Russian government recently quashed the federation's top dog status when it enacted Resolution No. 298. "On measures to improve dog breeding." That regulation awarded the federation a monopoly on such potentially lucrative activities as charging fees for registering pedigrees. But it provided a level of protest from the smaller Russian Canine Association. Representatives of that group charged that their civil society gained its monopoly rights by giving Deputy Prime Minister Viktor Gdard an unguaranteed bribe, a liter of canine Russian pagoda, valued at 15,000 rubles each, and a dog. The Russian government is the dog. The Russian government may be dead, but Russians are finding that it is still a dog-eat-dog world.

PASSAGES

MARRIED: Newspaper publisher Conrad Black, 47, and columnist Barbara Aronow, 51, in a civil ceremony in a London registry office. In June, Black obtained a divorce from his first wife, Joanna, 46, his former secretary. Black and his ex-wife have three children who live with their mother in Toronto. Aronow, who writes columns for several newspapers, including the London Sunday Times, as well as Aronow's, was previously married to lawyer Gerry Smith. Toronto author George Jonas and British cable-television executive David Graham.



RETIRED: Alastair Cooke, 83, the great British-born radio broadcaster and host of the television drama series *Masters of the Theatre*. The only host of the series since its inception in 1971. Cooke plans to depart in November. He will continue his 46-year-old weekly radio broadcast, the *MacLennan from America*.

BURGER: 82, of a cerebral hemorrhage, in a Montreal hospital. A child's son from Ottawa, Burger and seven partners co-owned the Ottawa Rough Riders from 1986 to 1988. The following year, he bought the Montreal Alouettes. He said the team to businessman Nelson Skalzbach in 1980.

BIRD: Wayne McLaren, 51, a model who appeared in the magazine *Playboy*. McLaren was in a cigarette advertisement, of long career, in a hospital in Newport Beach, Calif. McLaren, who smoked for 25 years, said as he qualified, "Tobacco will kill you, and I am living proof of it."

BIRD: Wrestler (Gorgeous) George Aronow, 64, of an under-cholesterol, in Delray Beach, Fla. Aronow was one of the first villains in the early years of television wrestling in the 1940s and 1950s. Based in Milwaukee for most of his career, Aronow was with and minor roles along the way and part of the high heels, winning his long photo-shoot hair in sandy environments in his videotaped hair with collapse.

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AN AMERICAN VIEW



Sweet dreams of Desert Storm

BY FRED MANNING

I haven't cared about scope and scale, basketball would be achieved just as much of certain lies are banished from highways and holy places are rejected by the post office. But this is a sport that takes eternity for granted and makes no apologies. A "small forward" may be roughly the size of New Jersey. A player lacking the height of, say, Magic Johnson is apt to be described as a "pointy little guy." Everything about the game—its enormous scores, cumulative slams, and its own profanity—is a study in proportion. Now, with the U.S. Olympic basketball squad, comes the ultimate expression of size-related symbolism: Citizens of the world, we give you the Desert Team. Prepare to meet your doom.

Here is an accumulation of players so skilled, so formidable, so unparalleled in their mastery of the game that success is reliably taken for granted. Basketballers will give odds only on the margin of victory—50 points, 70, 100—and not a word is said as the opponent expects even one of the Olympic contestants to be vaguely competitive by usual standards. It is as though the local parish had acquired a neighborhood talent show prize-winning violinist and tap-dancing children against the New York Philharmonic or Rolling Stones.

How did such an absurdity come to pass? Why would we send to Barcelona an assortment of superstars from the National Basketball Association—and one taken together who soon to turn pro—when the world offers no equivalent? Realization? At the so-called qualifying rounds in Portland, Oregon, teams were lining up for autographs and posing at every opportunity with Magic Johnson, Larry Bird and Michael Jordan. In one case, an opponent from Argentina was guarding Johnson and barred suddenly to make sure a transmute on the bench had captured the moment on film. The advancing American army is at the gates and the ene-

Basketball may have been invented by a Canadian, but American fans rate that detail as minor, if they recall it at all

my's only thought is to leave aside the bolt and take advantage of the rest.

But the world must have to surrender itself, as we are required to accommodate? Must we always follow our Baggins and Gandalfs around the prebent of phantoms? Is it necessary that we demonstrate again our growing sense of Middle Eastern? What do we prove by unleashing the basketball equivalent of Desert Storm when our best amateur players likely would dominate the field? What gives, anyway?

Sports analysts say that the vast American marketing business by showing us "hard sell" overseas, get real, more than mere billions are in question. A familiar metaphor at the time our latest adventure is unveiled: The Dream Team is this year's cure for the blues—a pharmaceutical deluged pill paragon said to provide temporary relief from all that ails us. Why the Dream Team? Oh, because George Bush is in the White House, because co-president Ross Perot turned out to be precisely the "jagged marble" a New York City day-poker claimed that he was, because the moment came up, because we don't know any longer who to trust in Canada, because we haven't a pretty way to watch on TV, because—let's admit it—we are, by context and inclination, lousy losers.

Incredibly, our politicians view the Olympic bid in 1996, and now (allegedly) true believers want to make certain quantity cover stolen again. Basketball may have been invented by the Canadian James A. Naismith, but American fans rate that detail as minor, if they recall poor Naismith's name at all. The game now is U.S. property and we will label that all who question our superiority as the slanted force. Foreign forces may box our ears in education and into production but we will not countenance defeat in hoops. "We've got to regain our sense of pride our figure," Jordan told Naismith. "Sure, we even if it's just basketball. We can at least show the world that we can take control of something."

The connection between big-time sports and national psyche is not easily described, but surely a connection exists. Soccer fans on other continents regularly bash each other in a war to uphold the honor of their homeland, and when there will even a Soviet Union, leaders of that succumbable empire apparently thought that they could preserve party discipline—and their westerner duties—if only the state hockey team stayed healthy. Politicians are great for shouting with one set of champions or another, and why do you think the national anthem is soiled routinely before every event? Do they still use the machine code guard prior to pecking contests or chess tournaments? Are we expected to stand at attention and place hands over hearts when the debating team prepares to debate?

Not a chance. Only the so-called justice sports are heralded by flag-and-drum convocations, heroic ballades and the occasional ostentatious road singer. What makes the making of a basketball 400 feet on act of national importance or the golden past return, as the golden's splendid glow-ward state? On these small fields, perhaps, larger wars are being fought, and we should be grateful for the release of angst and emotion. But we should be wary, so well, of the attendant toxicity. For citizens and governments, domination is like—bad diagnosis.

Should we try to keep matters in perspective? The U.S. Olympic Dream Team is mostly entertainment and comes around with nothing more dangerous than a runaway officer and millions of dollars and have prevented Pearl Harbor. We will see every game by laptop scores, and declare, with fingers itching skyward, that we're simply lost. We will, as Jordan says, recognize some amount of self-worth, at least in the sports world, and then the Dreamers will come home and there will be a predictable splash of ethnophobia and then, of course, we will awake.

As Desert Storm instructed, you can have yourself a dream through and throw a thousand pretty fireworks the land. You can start and weaver and proclaim that, after a long absence, destiny is back on your side. It may also happen, however, that you look up one day and discover that life has changed—and that you are in a good show but accomplished not much more. As, Dream Team, comport yourself with humility and large respect toward others. The world is a complicated place and big leads sometimes turn in a wink.

Fred Manning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

HEADING FOR THE POLLS?

SPECULATION ABOUT A FALL ELECTION GROWS AS PROGRESS IN THE UNITY TALKS GRINDS TO A HALT

The many standing watch over the nation's fortunes constitutional debate, the outward signs pointed to the same outcome: paralysis. After months of frenzied high-level negotiations, several key participants in Quebec's ongoing separatist story in fact were returned to the wings. Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark spent part of the week vacationing on the Massachusetts coast, and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney retired to his summer residence in Harrington Lake before leaving for a three-day weekend spending time in Quebec. Quebec's Inter-governmental Affairs Minister Gil Roberge went fishing on the Rivière Saguenay with Édouard Beauchamp, his New Brunswick counterpart, while several premiers, including New Brunswick's Frank McKenna, Nova Scotia's Donald Cameron and Newfoundland's Clyde Wells, also took brief holidays. Against that backdrop, some of the other constitutional players openly warned that progress had stalled, perhaps irreversibly. "We reached an agreement and the Prime Minister sent out strong signals that he was not going to let it go," commented Edward Johnston, Newfoundland's justice minister, told Mulroney's. "Since then, the talks have been drifting."

But behind the scenes, phone lines and fax machines buzzed as federal and provincial officials hurried desperately to get the constitutional process back on track. Their aim: to win Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa back to the constitutional negotiating table, perhaps in

early as this week, to discuss details of the deal reached on July 7 among Ottawa, nine provinces, the two territories and aboriginal groups. Bourassa, who has boycotted talks since the failure of the Meech Lake constitutional accord two years ago, continued to hold out for change—he has called them "clarifications"—before agreeing to reopen the debate. But at week's end, Clark and his lieutenants would likely attend an informal first minister's meeting to be held in Ottawa within a matter of days.

Meanwhile, the apparent lack of progress led to new gossip, along with widespread political speculation about more radical solutions to the unity dilemma. For their part, the opposition Liberals suggested a five-year moratorium on further constitutional talks, although they did not address the question of the Quebec referendum on that province's future, which must be held by Oct. 26. Other politicians said that the Conservatives could call a full election, with constitutional issues as the main item on their platform. Declared New Leader Audrey McLaughlin, "I wouldn't put it past Mulroney to attempt the ultimate cynical maneuver: 'The government looks at the constitution as an electoral issue—and how they can benefit from it—rather than as a peaceful nation-building process.'" But according to some experts, such a move might be to the

advantage of the beleaguered government. Says Central West, a political scientist at Ottawa's Carleton University, "I think Mulroney could do very well—it would be like re-election at warzone, one where people wouldn't want to change horses in midstream."

While the Conservatives are not obliged to call an election until the fall of 1994, their national election readiness committee is preparing for the possibility of a national vote in early 1993. That coincides with the fourth anniversary of their Nov. 23, 1990 victory. And Mulroney's own ministerial spokesman says, "The Prime Minister has not whispered to any one. In fact, his public comments have tried some townsfolk 1993." But, Terry deRoo, "Politics is a volatile business," and he added that Conservative organizers would be

prepared for a campaign this fall if necessary.

Clearly, the Liberals are also preparing for the possibility of a fall vote. By week's end, they had nominated 14 candidates, among them Alberta oilman Robert Bax. Other possible high-profile candidates: Toronto-Danforth-Bayview incumbent Douglas Young, who is seeking a nomination in suburban Toronto, former Ontario premier David Peterson and P.E.I. Premier Joseph Ghaz. An election on the constitutional issue, according to Gordon Ashworth, senior administrator to the Liberal campaign committee, "is certainly one of the possibilities. Mulroney has to believe this." And, Ashworth added, "If we can't find it, we would be ready."

Strapshooters say that they are also preparing themselves for the possibility of a fall election. And Mulroney Party Leader Preston Manning told Mulroney that his party is "doing a lot of thinking work tonight is essential for us to be a player in this election." By last week, the party had 44 candidates nominated and Manning said that he expects there will be "close to 800 by late this fall."

While a fall election could allow the Conservatives to argue that they need a new mandate to deal with the country's instability, some senior Tories caution that calling an election on the Constitution would be folly—even though the party has begun to recover from its dismal standing in public opinion polls. A Gallup poll released earlier this month showed the Conservatives in second place with 32 per cent—a three-year high—compared with 42 per cent for the Liberals and 18 per cent for the

NDP. But Gallup executive vice-president Lance Rossell says that in the event of an election, voters would remember that the Tories created the constitutional mess in the first place. Added Rossell, "They opened the issue and dropped it out for six years." In his view, the only constitutional issue that would rally voters would be an "absolute crisis," such as a Quebec declaration of independence. Otherwise, says Rossell, "the real state is the economy."

One factor that would erode Conservative forces going into an election campaign would be the employment of Mulroney by Clark. Party leaders clearly recognize that Clark has emerged as a hero among Canadians—not at all among some fellow cabinet ministers. And Gallup data from June show that with Clark as leader, 55 per cent of Canadians would vote for the Conservatives, compared with 37 per cent for the Liberals and 18 per cent for the NDP. Ironically, Clark last week attempted to dispel a wild story of rumors that he struggles to choose a national ally and has twice been in the verge of quitting politics. Although he has acknowledged being tired after 26 years in federal politics, Clark declared, "I was as surprised as anyone at those rumors. I don't know where they came from and I'm pleased to lay them to rest." With that, he signaled his resolve to continue fighting the constitutional battle—and perhaps other battles still to come.

GLEN ALLEN with MARY WOOD and
A. KAYE FULTON in Ottawa and
JOHN DUMONT in Quebec



Mulroney in Chicoutimi, Que.: setting national unity during a Quebec tour

National Notes

TAKING FLIGHT

Defence Minister Marcel Masse announced that the federal government will go ahead with the controversial \$4-billion purchase of 50 Searcher-100 military helicopters. Thirty-five of the state-of-the-art aircraft will fly from the decks of warships, including 12 new Canadian-built. The other 15 will be used in search and rescue operations along Canada's three coastlines, and the Great Lakes. Critics said that the helicopters, designed to hunt Soviet submarines, are too costly for post-Cold War Canadian needs. As part of the deal, Quebec will receive nearly \$5 billion in contracts related to the purchase, and spending in the rest of the country will be \$1.9 billion.

A BLOW FOR THE BLOC

Critic, Emily Gosselin, says, Jean Laferrière, leader of the sovereigntist Bloc Québécois, announced that he is leaving politics to join a Montreal law firm and to work part time as a radio talk-show host. The departure of Laferrière, first elected as a Liberal in 1986, leaves the Bloc with eight MPs.

PROFILE OF A BRUTAL WOUND

A profile compiled by the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation says that two men, who may be serial killers, brutally murdered Ontario teenager Kristen French. The FBI described one suspect as a "human predator," driven by sexual desire. The other, who has no criminal record, is described as a "cold-blooded" killer. French's body was found on April 30 in a ditch near her home community of St. Catharines, 130 km southwest of Toronto. The 25-year-old, who died of asphyxiation, was held captive for 14 days and sexually assaulted prior to the murder.

RAMPAGE IN MONTREAL

Fifty people, in about 75 minutes, looted, damaged or participated in a riot after a night of about 300 young blacks looted shops, smashed car windows and burned stores at police offices during a brief rampage in Montreal's north end. The riot began after police arrived to investigate reports of gunfire at a nightclub.

TAKING HIS LEAVE

Deputy Finance Minister Fred Garbat said that he will resign to consider new career prospects, after four years as his post. Garbat, who added that he will remain as advisor to Finance Minister John Mulroney, has several months more to go before his resignation is related to the government's reluctance to make job creation a top priority.



CANADA WATCH

Attempting to ally team that the national unity process had slipped off the rails. Constitutional Affairs Minister Joe Clark said that a first minister's meeting, with Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa attending, would likely be held this week. But an aide to Bourassa told the reporter that the premier will take part only provisionally, in other developments.

• Quebec Premier Jean Charest urged the first minister to attend the only deal they reached on July 7 in terms of federal's proposals by a parliamentary committee, leaves in the Constitution.

Describe report: The main difference between the two versions of the constitution, one of the other, representation in a reform package. An analysis paper released by the C.D. Howe Institute concluded that the latest unity accord would not meet these goals in the constitution.

300% OF THE NEWS

"Just don't let it hang out there and be picked to death in Quebec by people, mainly commentators and politicians, who won't support anything."

—Deputy Prime Minister Preston Manning, after the Prime Minister to tell the latest constitutional package to Quebecers



The Montreal Symphony Orchestra: uneasy about a diminished federal role

'Sleepwalking to disaster'

Ottawa's proposed power loss causes concern

Every year, when the federal government prepares to table its annual budget, housing advocates across the country express a shared anxiety: that Ottawa will try to extricate itself from the housing field by abolishing the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corp., which grew grants and loans to housing projects for Canadians who would otherwise not be able to afford adequate accommodation and loses mortgages for home buyers who pay small deposits. And then, they claim, would leave the housing field to a patchwork of smaller programs administered by the provinces. This year, housing advocates said that they were relieved when the budget appeared in February—leaving the federal corporation untouched. But that reaction may have been premature. The constitutional deal reached early this month between Ottawa and nine provinces would give provinces "exclusive jurisdiction" over housing, as well as several other policy areas including culture. Deirdre Sylvia Blount, executive director of the Canada Housing and Renewal Association "I

think Canada Mortgage and Housing is under the biggest threat it has ever been under right now. It seems like we are just a grain of sand in this whole constitutional thing."

The federal-provincial power-sharing aspects of the new agreement provoked almost as much attention from critics of the deal, such as aboriginal rights and Senate reform. But Ottawa's willingness to give more power to the provinces is now under attack from various quarters. Although the provinces would in part exercise their new powers using federal money, many analysts question the depth of Ottawa's commitment to renounce its current levels of funding—and willingness of the provinces to leave the new obligations. Said University of Western Ontario constitutional law professor Errol Manning: "I think this country is sleepwalking towards a disaster."

Quebec has led the charge for greater decentralization of power. That province's governing Liberal party last year adopted a report prepared by Quebec City lawyer Jean Abitibi that recommended such a dramatic power shift

to the provinces that Ottawa would retain jurisdiction only over defense, customs and tariffs, monetary policy, debt management and equalization payments to the poorer provinces, including Quebec. The current agreement is far less dramatic. But in addition to culture, it would give the provinces jurisdiction over labor market development and training, and it would also reinforce provincial control over forestry, mining, tourism, housing, recreation and environmental and other affairs. These areas are constitutionally under potential provincial jurisdiction even though Ottawa has gradually intruded by spending money and establishing programs, at times without provincial consent.

One of the most sensitive issues is culture. Throughout the 1980s, the federal government has played an increasingly vital role by creating and funding many national institutions such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission and the Canada Council, which provides funds for other things, symphony orchestras, opera companies and theatre groups across the country.

The proposed devolution of cultural jurisdiction has traditionally been a concern of many Canadian arts representatives. Keith Kelly, director of the Canadian Confederation of the Arts, an umbrella group, said that he was shocked when he first learned of the draft accord. Kelly noted that a granted exclusive power over culture to the provinces, with no mention of national institutions or a continuing

federal role. He added: "Needless to say, I was very concerned because we had just had a letter from Joe Clark on June 30, in that letter—and in a preceding letter in late May—Clark had clearly stated his determination to make a 'continued strong federal presence in cultural matters.'"

One week later, a final text based on the previous agreement was released with the wording changed to reflect Kelly's wishes. The text recognized the "continuing responsibility of the federal government in Canadian cultural matters." It stated that the federal government should retain responsibility for "national cultural institutions, including grants and contributions delivered by these institutions." Kelly said that the revised wording gave him cause for concern. But constitutional experts claim that the agreement could still result in a greatly diminished federal role.

Manning, for one, notes that the agreement says that the provinces have "exclusive jurisdiction over cultural matters within the provinces." It is difficult, he added, to imagine a cultural event taking place outside of the provinces. And he claimed that the use of the word "responsibility" to describe the federal government's involvement in culture is puzzling. "Responsibility is such a vague word, it could mean anything to anybody. It does not have a sound constitutional meaning. I live just before the federal government is going to say, 'Look, we cannot really keep on spending.'"

Representatives of other organizations are also expressing concern. Largely because the cultural field is so widely beyond the arts. Members of heritage groups are clearly worried that their activities would be cancelled under the new agreement. Although provinces are responsible for heritage properties such as historic homes, the federal government has funded national projects. Among them is Heritage Canada's Main Street Canada, which has spent more than \$3 million on refurbishing central downtown streets in cities and towns across the country. New critics such as Douglas Franklin, director of government relations at Heritage Canada, say that the words

"continuing responsibility" in the tentative agreement imply that Ottawa will only have the right to maintain current projects—not start new ones. Said Franklin: "Does this mean that the federal government can no longer advertise its initiatives on the cultural sphere which may be of national significance?"

Other observers voiced similar fears. Notes David Schreierman, executive director of the Centre for Constitutional Studies at the University of Alberta: "Sure, it could cause havoc the current arrangements." And Schreierman said that the federal government,

moment on shutting its deficit, may well use the constitutional deal to justify ending funding in arts-related fields. He added: "I would have thought that was the objective of this."

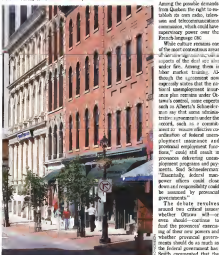
Some experts say that the federal government may also curtail spending on multiculturalism programs under the new deal. Robert Howie, an assistant law professor at the University of Toronto law school, said that under

standing—and perhaps getting—even more powers from Ottawa, according to recent R.C. constitutional expert John D. Wilson, "I can see the distinct society clause, if it is in the main body of the Constitution, resulting in special status for Quebec in terms of legislative powers," said Thrall, a former constitutional adviser to the R.C. government. "And the list of points that that could make is virtually endless."

Among the possible demands from Quebec: the right to establish its own radio, television and telecommunications commission, which could have supervisory power over the French-language CBC.

While culture remains one of the most contentious areas of interprovincial conflict, with aspects of the deal yet also under fire. Among them is labor market training. Although the agreement now explicitly states that the national unemployment insurance plan remains under Ottawa's control, some experts such as William J. Schabas of the University of Toronto say that some administrative arrangements under the accord, such as a committee to ensure effective coordination of federal unemployment insurance and provincial employment functions, could still result in provinces delivering unemployment programs and payments. Said Schabas: "Essentially, federal management could be wound down and responsibility could be assumed by provincial governments."

The debate revolves around two critical issues: whether Ottawa will let areas should—continue to have the provinces' "entrusting of those new powers and whether provincial governments should do as much as the federal government. Schabas commented that the most contradictory part of the deal is that Ottawa is supposed to keep "picking up



Saint John, N.B.: a 'Main Street Canada' refurbishment

the agreement, it would be difficult for Ottawa to continue some of its support for other groups, such as funding for multicultural centres. Said Howie: "All that is up for grabs."

Even the definition of culture itself seems unclear—and could lead to further confusion. Quebec negotiators have stated repeatedly that culture extends beyond art and music. They insist that it must include aspects of Quebec life such as gastronomy, language and business practices. The recognition of Quebec as a distinct society, contained in the new agreement, could result in that province de-

fining the 'lab' for programs that will become clearly provincial. Deirdre Thrall: "This is not the way to control the federal deficit." Others claim that the long-term result will be a withdrawal by Ottawa from certain areas of funding. Said Manning: "They are looking for every single excuse to get out of funding programs—right across the board." Clearly, what at first appeared as a day's light rain of agreement, in fact, is a blizzard of potential change in the way that Canada is governed.

HANCOY WOOD in Ottawa



Canadian soldier on gunpost at Sarajevo's airport; MacKenzie (far right) with troops; 'bizarre in the extreme'



WORLD

DEATH THREATS BY FAX

Maj-Gen. Lewis MacKenzie has had many bad moments during his 4½ months commanding United Nations peacekeepers in Sarajevo, and one of the worst took place in the early hours of July 31. At 2:00 a.m., 350 Canadian soldiers lodged in a barracks near the besieged Bosnian capital's airport came under sniper fire for more than an hour. Mortar shells hit the camp's gate, urban and rural hall, and bullets pockmarked the walls. No one was hurt, but the attack was a sharp reminder that even the UN troops' best efforts have done nothing to stem the fighting—and that they themselves have become just another target of Sarajevo's daunting isolation. With only about two weeks to go before the Canadians are scheduled to leave the city, MacKenzie confessed that he has no illusion that the shooting will soon end. "I stopped believing in holy stones when I was 10," he said. "The happy ending here isn't going to come for a long, long time."

MAJ-GEN. LEWIS MACKENZIE TALKS OF HIS UN POSTING AND BEING HELD HOSTAGE IN WAR-TORN SARAJEVO

During his time in Sarajevo, the former reactor has been both hostage, watched Bosnian gunmen murder Serbian soldiers who were with him, and received several death threats by telephone and fax machine. He has also kept a diary for the first time and is considering writing a book about his experiences when he returns to

Canada. By the end of next week, MacKenzie and the 500-member Canadian battalion, which arrived in the city on July 2 to ensure delivery of emergency relief, are expected to relocate to their base in Dervar, Croatia, 300 km northwest. Relocating them will be soldiers from Egypt, France, and Ukraine, reflecting the religious divide—Muslims, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christians—that has torn Bosnia-Herzegovina apart in the fiercest fighting Europe has seen since the Second World War. And MacKenzie, the 52-year-old Nova Scotia native who commands all UN forces in Sarajevo, intends to stay until the end. "When the last Canadian soldier goes out of Sarajevo," he told *Maclean's* last week, "then I'll leave."

When they do, the Canadians will be able to claim much of the credit for bringing relief to 300,000 civilians trapped in a city under bombardment by Serb nationalists almost constantly since April. By week's end, Sarajevo had received about 3,300 tons of food and medicine

on 320 flights from a dozen countries. But as the relief operation continued, it became increasingly apparent that the peacekeepers' efforts had won them few friends among the people they were putting their lives on the line to help. Even before their barracks came under fire last week, Bosnian soldiers decimated at gunpoint four vehicles carrying Canadian troops for 2½ hours, accusing them of smuggling weapons to the Serbs to search proved the accusation to be false.

And MacKenzie found himself drawn into a messy squabble with the secessionist republic's increasingly hostile government over a seemingly innocuous issue: how to transport Bosnia's Olympic athletes to the Summer Games in Barcelona. The Bosnians wanted to fly 37 people out of Sarajevo on a UN heli plane, but only two were athletes and the officials told them to cut the delegation to 10. The Bosnians refused—and later left on a chartered plane. Relations between him and the Bosnians' government acknowledged at one point, were at "an all-time low."

The peacekeepers' problems were made even worse by the latest effort to halt the fighting. On July 18, another ceasefire brokered by Lord Carrington, the European Community's peace envoy, was scheduled to go into effect but almost immediately after the deadline, both sides launched some of their heaviest attacks against each other in Sarajevo. MacKenzie said, "all hell broke loose." The failed ceasefire was the 20th attempt to stop the shooting—and MacKenzie was clearly frustrated at being caught in the middle. "God protect us from ourselves," he said. "It seems whenever we have a ceasefire, the level of fighting goes up."

Talking to *Maclean's*, the general reflected on what he has described as his most difficult peacekeeping mission after eight previous tours in countries as diverse as Cyprus and Vietnam. Since he arrived in Sarajevo on March 4, he has recorded his experiences almost daily in a brown diary that he keeps on the desk of his second-floor office in the city's telecommunications building, headquarters of the UN Protection Force. The day that stands out with special clarity, he said, is Sunday, May 16, when Serbians soldiers took Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic hostage. MacKenzie became involved in brokering the president's release in exchange for the freedom of the Serbian commander in the city, who was being held by Bosnian troops, and some of his men.

The Serbs, accompanied by MacKenzie and UN soldiers, were taken in a convoy to be released. But Bosnian soldiers stopped the convoy, took out several Serbian officers—and shot them to death in front of MacKenzie. He saw at least three officers executed only yards away, "right in front of us." The Bosnians took 300 other Serbs prisoner, and MacKenzie says that only the UN presence prevented more bloodshed. "If we hadn't been there," he recalled, "it would have been a massacre."

That night, however, MacKenzie's own life and that of other UN officers were directly threatened. Serbian troops, angry at the executions, stopped the peacekeepers' vehicles, seized their weapons and held them hostage. They threw MacKenzie and his personal aide, Maj. Steve Gagnon of Montreal, into the back of a Serbian truck, separated from the other UN officers. MacKenzie said that he feared that the others might be killed—but that he successfully

World Notes

BUMBLING OF WAR

Tensions between the United Nations and Iraq escalated as Baghdad refused to allow UN inspectors, authorized under Gulf War ceasefire resolutions, to search its agriculture ministry for weapons-related documents and material. After an 18-day raid outside the building, the UN team withdrew in the face of increasingly violent demonstrations. U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that a military strike against Iraq "looks pretty certain" unless Baghdad relents. Over the weekend, President George Bush discussed contingency plans with top military advisers at his retreat in Camp David. Maj. Gen. David presided nonvocal William Clinton said that he would support a strike against Iraq.

A SYMBOLIC SUMMIT

Eight days after taking office, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin travelled to Cairo for a meeting with President Hosni Mubarak, the first Israeli-Egyptian summit in nearly six years. Mubarak welcomed Rabin's pledge to halt Jewish settlements on occupied Arab land, calling it "a good step." The Prime Minister's visit to Cairo underscored his Labor government's desire to resume U.S.-backed Middle East peace talks.

ESCORTEE LEAVES HOME

Colombian drug boss Juan Pablo Escobar and four members of his Medellín cartel escaped from a specially built prison, embarrassing President César Gaviria who, 13 months ago, gave him immunity from extradition to the United States. As hundreds of Colombian police and soldiers searched for the fugitives, Washington's anti-narcotics chief Bob Martinez declared that Gaviria "must, I repeat, must, take whatever additional steps are necessary" to recapture Escobar.

MURDER BY THE MAPLE

A lone gunman pulled a car up in front of the Serbian capital of Belgrade, killing an 80-year-old public prosecutor Paolo Bonafant. Following the attack, which took place less than two months after a similar strike killed Bonafant's colleague, Judge Giovanni Palumbo, the Italian government ruled that new measures were in order to guard against crime.

TRAGEDY AT SEA

About 90 Haitian refugees drowned while a subsea capsize north of the capital of Port-au-Prince. There has been a mass exodus of refugees since the 1991 military overthrow of democratically elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

negotiated the release of all the six soldiers.

"He would give a meal full of 25 men, sitting in a tiny little car in the dark with Yugoslav army soldiers clanking metal around us," he recalled. "His verdict on the entire episode: 'This is business in the extreme.'"

Spavins learns a lesson that MacKenzie assumes both sides engage in to score proper ground points. "I told him, 'What I said to both sides, that's blurring it on both extremes. Look, when he spoke to disgraced Bosnian journalists, MacKenzie cited the practice to illustrate how far all sides in the republic's dirty war are prepared to go. 'I got so frustrated about a month ago,' he told him. 'What I said to both sides, if you're sitting yourselves, maybe we'll have peace around here.'"

Despite their role in bringing in badly needed aid, the Canadians have received little recognition from the Bosnians for their efforts. Soon after the first small war from anti-war Senators, local public opinion turned against them. MacKenzie himself explained that his mandate was limited to negotiating the airport. But local people, suffering constant shelling, could not understand why the UN troops did not drive Serb gunners from the UN airport. The city. And on one occasion that became notorious in Sarajevo, a UN armored vehicle transported a Serbian leader, Milan Milutinovic, into the city to visit members of his family. UN officials justified the action by pointing out that Milutinovic was taking part in negotiations and had to complete family

business quickly. But angry Bosnians quickly denounced the United Nations's white-wash of the "harvested war service."

That kind of hostility was expressed in many ways—including death threats against MacKenzie himself. They came into his office by phone and even fax, which has allowed the general to send messages back evading the people making the threats to visit him and talk over their complaints. However, MacKenzie said wryly, "I'd only ever look up the offer." The threats have come from both sides. "I was keeping secret like a tennis match for a while," said the general. "The score so far? 'I'd rather not say, but it's fairly close.'"

MacKenzie has had only one day off since early March. He travelled to Russia in July to increase aid at the Novo Dobro College. His job: peacekeeping. Otherwise, one of his

few relaxations has been watching videos of himself engaged in his favorite pastime, saving Normans. Ford says MacKenzie has been a passionate reader, driver since the mid-1970s when he moved to Germany. Back in Canada, he was a national champion—and even competed against actor Paul Newman, another proven two-car enthusiast. MacKenzie's wife, Irena, and daughter, Katerina, were initially "less than thrilled" by his hobby, he acknowledged, but he managed to convert them. One of his top priorities back in Canada, MacKenzie said, will be finding a place to compete in.

MacKenzie is also toying with the idea of turning the experiences recorded in his diary into a book. And when he leaves the city, he said, he hopes that it will not be for the last time. "I moved to this city when it was still a beautiful place," he reflected. "I've watched a stone by stone, wall by wall, building by building, deteriorate into evidence of people trying to kill the people next to them." Still, he said, he hopes to return as a tourist when peace returns. But with the city's history years, perhaps decades, of conflict, MacKenzie said, "I just hope I'm young enough to enjoy it."

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London



Apia Cerkez with her backpack: a refugee child

camp and other obstacles, restricting their ability to cope with the urban and loving most of them to escape the restrictions. Some of the refugees have traveled thousands of miles by train only to find that they are refused asylum.

Noting that the number of refugees is growing by more than 18,000 each day, Opita last week appealed to neighboring European countries to open admission restrictions. The German government, according to the UN Commission's latest estimates, more than 500,000 displaced people are in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 330,000 in Croatia, and another 60,000 in Slovenia. In addition, nearly 340,000 are in Serbia—more than 90 per cent of them staying with families already hard hit by UN economic sanctions imposed on the Yugoslav Yugoslav Federation. Thousands more have poured into Hungary, Austria, Ger-

many and other countries, restricting their ability to cope with the urban and loving most of them to escape the restrictions. Some of the refugees have traveled thousands of miles by train only to find that they are refused asylum.

SCOTT STEELE with commission's report

BRITAIN

The 'Minister of Fun'

A sex scandal rocks the Tory government

When David Mellor took over Britain's newly created national heritage department in April, the news media quickly nicknamed him the "Minister of Fun." The portfolio put him in charge of sports, the arts, places for a new national library—and given responsibility for deciding whether the country's press intrudes too much into the private lives of public figures. Last week, it became painfully apparent that Mellor had been having altogether too much fun for his own good. A leaked newspaper, *The People*, revealed that the 43-year-old cabinet minister was involved in a steamy affair with an actress. The issue of publicity that followed may cripple Mellor's political career, and it has turned the Minister of Fun into a figure of fun. It has also reopened Britain's long-standing debate over whether the country's sometimes outrageous tabloids should be subject to stricter legal restrictions.

The People's story was freely noted in the columns of British political sex analysts. Even since a defence minister, John Poulson, had to resign because of his notorious affair with call girl Christine Keeler in 1963, British laws have regularly reinforced by the spectacle of public figures being hounded by exposure of their private peccadilloes. Last week's accounts of Mellor's entanglement with 31-year-old Spanish-born actress Antonia de Santaia were among the poorest of recent revelations. *The People* published verbatim transcripts of their phone conversations. "You have absolutely exhausted me," Mellor told de Santaia at one point. "I had a wonderful time with you last night and I feel like a poster boy for my department." Mellor's press secretary said that newspapers were considering their offer, he advised her to deny everything, saying, "Keep your pocket up, my love. We can handle this."

In large part, the revelations merely fed public prejudice and the tabloids' appetite for sensationalizing stories. Other papers followed as *The People* story with more details about de Santaia's checkered acting career. She attended Britain's leading drama school, the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London, and last September toured a starring role in a classical Greek play, *Antigone*. But she had few accolades as well,

including that of a one-legged prostitute who has sex with a press delivery man in a soft porn movie called *The Princess*. Pictures from the movie, published by another tabloid, *The Sun*, last week, deepened Mellor's public embarrassment—as did leaked reports of de Santaia's



De Santaia (top) denied and David Mellor: not pure

premier for seeking her lover's son. Mellor pleaded for time to repair the damage to his 18-year marriage to his wife, Judith, age 43.

Tabloid details deflated the revelations as threats of public interest. William Hopton, editor of *The People*, admitted that his story showed that Mellor was too embarrassed to do his job as a minister. More importantly, he said, it demonstrated that Mellor should not be entrusted with the task of deciding if the government should adopt new legal restrictions designed to stop newspapers from infringing on privacy rights. Two years ago, when a government committee investigating the issue pub-

lished its findings, Mellor, then a junior minister with responsibility for the press, warned that the tabloids could abuse restrictions if they did not voluntarily curb abuse of privacy. And following publication of reports in early June about the breakdown in the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Wales, Charles and Diana, he ordered a new report on privacy and the media. Last week, *The Sun* pointedly asked in an editorial: "How can he be left in charge of a privacy bill that is so close to his own?"

Edman strongly opposed any further restrictions, arguing that they might prevent legitimate investigations and stop the public from finding out about abuses by politicians and other public figures. The Daily Star another tabloid, warned that "the involvement in it will stop us protecting ourselves from the embarrassment of public scrutiny." Others argued that a law to protect individual privacy from press intrusion would be unworkable because there is no way to define exactly when the public interest would justify prying into a politician's private life. And a privacy law, some experts said, would be especially dangerous in Britain. Hugh Stephenson, professor of journalism at London City University, noted that Britain has no constitutional guarantee of press freedom and has hawkish press laws, which already curb many abuses by newspapers. "A privacy law would not be counterbalanced by any presumption of press freedom," he said.

The controversy gained the tabloids' approval. The Conservative government of Prime Minister John Major, who last week publicly supported Mellor, one of his closest friends in the cabinet, did disavow the affair in a private meeting. During Britain's recent election campaign, the mainly Tory tabloids supported Major and lampooned abuse on the opposition Labour Party. In fact, some Conservatives held the editors as the real heroes of the scandalous Tory campaign.

But the prospect of new legal restrictions aroused the tabloids' standard hostility. Sex editor Helen Macdonald even claimed that a Tory minister had offered him information about the private life of an opposition politician. Liberal Democrat leader Paddy Ashdown, just before the April 9 election. The government, Macdonald argued, was simply hypocritical—decrying media intrusion into private lives while trying to fend scandalous truths about its opponents to favored newspapers. Critics daily denied Macdonald's account. But the outrage came as how better the right would get if the government tries to impose a law to bring the tabloids to heel and ensure that more politicians do not suffer the fate of Britain's unfortunate Minister of Fun.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

Living without communism

A post-Soviet society emerges from the ashes

The guard of honor still changes regularly outside the Kremlin mausoleum where Vladimir Lenin lies in state. As bells in the nearby Kremlin mark each hour, two white-gloved soldiers goosa-step solemnly across the red square and guardedly take over from others wearing blacking the tomb's entrance. A year after a coup attempt by party hardliners against President Mikhail Gorbachev led to the collapse of Soviet communism, many aspects of life in the old empire remain startlingly unchanged. Each week, about 26,000 people line up in life past Lenin's embalmed body. Many people in those lines are scratch Communists who say that they have come to pay their respects—even though the state that Lenin helped found in 1917 has vanished. But less than one kilometer away, a court case in central Moscow illustrates the rapid and profound changes that have swept across the former Soviet Union. There, in a courtroom, defendants of the once dominant Communist party are trying to convert 18 judges—all but two of them ex-Communists—that Krasnoe President Boris Yeltsin asked legally last year when he headed the party and seized its property.

Over the past 12 months, the former Soviet Union, once dominated by Ronald Reagan as an "evil empire," has endeavored to open the family of nations. Gone is the Caucasian threat to dominate the world, replaced by angry pleas from a former superpower for assistance. Workers aid and investment. From St. Petersburg (formerly Leningrad) in the west to Vladivostok in the east, as 260 million people have been struggling with such foreign concepts as democracy and free-market economies, with mixed results. At the same time, the dream of independence has been accompanied by a race in nationalism, with language pressed demands for independence by ethnic minorities often degenerating into violence. The handup of the old Soviet empire is complete but, one year later, Russia and the union's other former residents are still trying to emerge from the tyrannical of the past.

Moldovans from the old republic foster an eerie illusion that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics continues to exist. For one thing, the letters "USSR" (the USSR's initials in Cyrillic script) still appear on buses, stamps, military vehicles and official paperwork. As a result, Russians who accuse new passports find that familiar acronym on the bright red cover of a document that continues to identify them as Soviet citizens. And many of the Kievian bureaucrats who now serve

directors and shuffle paper performed similar functions before the 15 Soviet republics became independent. Indeed, after rejecting themselves as nationalists, former Communists are still running governments from Ukraine to Uzbekistan.



A Russian mercenary in Moldova's ethnic war

Across the east, remnants of the old union, 11 of the former Soviet republics are now joined in a loose association as members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Citizens of these countries can generally travel freely between member states. But it is the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, which are not part of the CB, that underline the stunning fact that the Soviet Union has disappeared at their borders. Its citizens can only gain admittance with valid visas.

Lenin, meanwhile, lives on in Red Square for the same reason that statues in his likeness are no longer being torn down in town squares across the old empire: most people are too busy trying to survive hard economic times to take soiled upturned symbols. In Moscow, sitting prime minister Igor Chubais in Yeltsin's key

side on economic reforms. The 37-year-old economist leads a team of youthful reformers that last January began Russia's often postponed journey to a market economy by freeing prices on consumer goods.

Since that first jolt of socialist economic shock therapy, most consumers have exhausted their savings. And many of them have scrambled to find ways of earning extra income because most items available for sale have become 20 times more expensive. But there is no relief in sight for Russia's fledgling market economy. In fact, government statistics reveal that food production dropped by 25 per cent during the first six months of 1992 compared with the same period last year. Industrial output during that time continued to slide, registering a 15-per-cent decline from 1991 levels. And as the Russian summer draws to a close, apocalyptic cultural experts are predicting that the full fallout will be no better than last year's mediocre yield.

These gloomy forecasts are baffling a government that is striving to transfer a largely state-owned and operated economy to private hands over the next four years. While Russia may be in the vanguard of change in the old union's hurrying trip to a market economy, national and local authorities have barely begun to provide incentives and the technical assistance that most Russians call home. And the introduction of a new 5,000-ruble bank note (worth about \$145) is an ominous portent of hyperinflation.

Opposition to economic reforms is growing among the powerful managers of Russia's large state-owned enterprises. Arseniy Yulish, the leader of the lobby group representing factories that produce 68 per cent of Russia's industrial output, has already urged Yeltsin to fire Gaidar. Yulish wants the government to maintain the old empire's policy of providing state subsidies to plants that would otherwise collapse. Unhappy with state support systems could swiftly throw three million workers out of their jobs. "We can have the wisdom at the dinner anytime we want," Yulish recently warned as he urged the government to slow down economic reforms.

That threat has paid immediate dividends. Belarus has abandoned the old system of cheap credits and subsidies to state factories. He also appointed three industrial specialists to top government positions. And Sergei Stankovich, an influential Belarus aide, has fueled speculation that the Russian president may elect the line recommended by Yulish—and fire Gaidar. (Belarusian last year's election liberal side of Belarus the majority of enterprises go under and then, after we have millions of unemployed, incite, re-organize, at times, a absolute nonsense.")

Yulish and other economic conservatives are jealously strong nationalists who do not like the West will really like Russia regain its



Armenian family in besieged Nagorno-Karabakh. Yeltsin (below) profound changes and starting remnants of the past

strength. Some of those critics, among them Vice-President Alexander Rutskoy, launch well-publicized attacks against the government while continuing to hold high office.

Emboldened army commanders from a third arena in the growing opposition movement Alexander Lebed, a 42-year-old general who

and neighboring Azerbaijan are locked in battle over Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian enclave that lies softly within Azerbaijan's borders. And clashing national goals have also sparked friction between Ukraine and Russia—notably at a squabble over the Ukraine of the old union's Black Sea fleet.

Establishing independence from Moscow has been the overriding concern of Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk, who in late 1990 was the Communist party's chief ideologue in that republic. Kravchuk easily won the state presidency in December elections through an informal election between the Communist old guard and key leaders of *Perestroika* (A nationalist organization that denounces Ukraine's opposition forces. His electoral victory coincided with an overwhelming vote in favor of Ukrainian independence. As a result, Kravchuk immediately sought to engineer the Soviet Union's collapse. To that end, he was instrumental in the creation of the new commonwealth by meeting on a week association



Post-Soviet media now carry regular reports from such geriatric rightist hot spots. Gaidar, the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrossian's black assessment that credits always accompany the collapse of empires. Armenia

that point no threat to Ukraine's independence.

In my event, the Soviet Union was clinging closer to dissolution a year ago when Gorbachev agreed to recognize the draining of power from the Kremlin to the coalition that he led to establish a loose union. Gorbachev's coup that launched the old empire's collapse and forced to first—and last—executive president into unwilling retirement. Now, under Gorbachev, currently the head of a Moscow think-tank, and that the opposition is planning an August holiday at an undisclosed location. Yeltsin, by contrast, while publicly discussing constant rumors of another impending coup, is presently staying on the job.

The 12 men and one woman who form the constitutional court in Moscow will also remain in motion. They will continue to weigh arguments that become the Communist party that the party itself was nothing more than a criminal organization. The judges must then try to fall out of post-Soviet society's court against needs, making a decision that is clearly based on law and not on the political needs of the government of the day.

MALCOLM GRAY in Moscow

Letter from Finland

In The Shadow Of A Giant

In his home town of Joutsen in Finland's eastern Karelia region, Mikko Mattila was steadily building his father's supply of cognac. A local boss, making the most of a rare weekend pass from the army. Last Oct. 28—Matti calls it the worst day of his life—the Finnish army inducted him for 11 months of compulsory military service. With a disciplinary tradition that borders on sadism, the army is a national institution more devoted than the country's dwindling tax cuts. Matti's own worst nightmare was wilderness survival training last winter. At night, his basic protection from piercing Arctic chills of -30°

Finland's least-visited, Erik's Norberg, says that the Russian have transferred a tank battalion to the region, and a chemical warfare regiment there to exercises and sit waiting. Hundreds of officers returning from eastern Germany in permanent compliance near the border with Poland. While Norberg discounts any military threat, he asks what rationale lies behind the moves.

A more immediate impact of the Soviet breakup is on the Finnish economy. Just two years ago, Finland carried on a bustling trade with its eastern neighbor, exporting nearly \$4 billion worth of goods there annually. This year, those sales are expected to be down by two-thirds.

The Russians do not have the hard currency to do business. And to make matters worse, former Soviet agents have stock Finnish government and companies with \$2 billion in unpaid debts. At the same time, Finland's unemployment rate has skyrocketed to 14.4 per cent from 3.4 per cent.

Still, Finland remains one of Europe's most prosperous nations, and its border with Russia marks one of the great divides in alliance between two neighboring countries. The average monthly Finnish salary of \$2,500 is about 300 times greater than that in Russia, where the transition to a free-market economy has heightened disparities. As a result, the corrupt practices of Russia's disbanded Communist party have given way to the corruption of a growing black market, and Finland is becoming a favorite target for desperate criminals from the east. Finnish police have arrested dozens of underworld members who entered the country posing as refugees.

They typically sold electronic goods, designer clothes and luxury cars, and smuggled them back to Russia where connoisseurs sell the contraband on the black market.

With the rise in crime and fall in employment, some Finns view nostalgia about the old days of Khrushchev's de-Stalinization. Among them is a conservative-minded core leader in Karelia, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "It was much better back then," he says with a shrug. "It was easier for us to do business with them, and the Iron Curtain kept the criminals on the other side of the border."

It is well past midnight and Matti is growing apprehensive, knowing that only a few hours remain in his brief spell of freedom. "If you refuse to go to the army they put you in jail for more than a year," he says while casually sipping the cap off his seventh beer. "I don't know, maybe that would have been preferable." The following night, his father's home will be a tent in a remote bushy clearing in Lapland, where there are said to be the most vicious. The daily staple will be a smelly stew of pickled beef sausages with large gibbons of fat floating on the surface, a meal known disparagingly as *stake herring* (not real dog) among the unfortunate recruits. Still, Matti reports for duty the next day, convinced that it is the price he must pay for national preservation in these perilous times.

FRED KAHILA in Joutsen



Finland's soldiers being beside a towering nuclear superpower

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

C was the thin veneer of a tent, and he was routinely issued at 2 a.m. to stand guard in the darkness of the snowbound forest. But despite the hardships, 20-year-old Matti and many other Finns support their country's survival both because the end of the Cold War has not brought peace of mind. Instead, it has raised their traditional concerns about security to new heights, which is understandable for a nation of five million people sharing a 1,270-kilometer border with a towering nuclear superpower of 150 million inhabitants.

Since signing the Soviet Union during the Second World War, and surrendering about 100,000 square miles of border territory in 1944—an area five times the size of France. Edward Kallio—Finns have regarded their Russian neighbors with ambivalence, at best. But the belief from the dissolution of the Communist empire last year has left Finland much harder than any other Western European nation—and brought new crises.

The most alarming development is the emergence of Russia's nationalist right wing. Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the far-right Liberal-Democratic party, claims that all of Finland, an independent democracy for 73 years, rightfully belongs to Russia. As a candidate in Russia's 1991 presidential election, won by Boris Yeltsin, Zhirinovskiy managed to garner six million votes out of the 72 million cast. In an eerie coincidence, the Russian army has recently bolstered its presence along the Finnish border. Matti points to a newspaper clipping in which a

PEOPLE

WHERE THE NUTS COME FROM

London-based author Kate Sturges says that before starting work on *Thinking About Magritte* four years ago, "I had never occurred to me to write a book." But now, her first novel is drawing critical praise in both Britain and Canada. In the book, the author traces the bizarre lives of the residents of Limstone, a fictional city based on Kingston, Ont., where she grew up. Sturges, 30, says that she wrote *Magritte* "from a feeling of homesickness," adding, "It's a reason for every people. They just sort of point towards me and tell me their story."

Doctor's bills

On the TV series *Northern Exposure*, Bob Morrow plays a doctor who sets up shop in a remote Alaska town to fill a contract with the state government. In real life, the actor has been having contract troubles of his own, arising from attempts to renegotiate the five-year, \$24,500-to-\$26,500-per-episode deal he had made with Universal Television before the show became a regular in TV's Top 10. "In the industry, you enter into this almost Faustian pact with the network," Morrow and his wife, who is a contract for several years before you can get out of the pact." On July 13, after three weeks of filming, Morrow and the producers ended a new contract, the details of which the native New Yorker would not disclose. "The fact that I took less than the industry standard when I first signed the show says something," said Morrow, 29, who has been nominated for an Emmy. "I'll be just as it for the money, I wouldn't have done that. But now the situation has changed."



Morrow: negotiating a 'Faustian pact'



Heller: 'so beautiful and so free'

A SUPERMODEL TEEN

Trish Heller is from a town of just over 300, but at 19 she is already making a name in the world of high fashion. Earlier this month in Los Angeles, the native of Danville, Ill., southeast of Madison, won the Ford agency's Supermodel of the World competition. With a \$300,000 agency contract and shows coming up in New York City and Paris, Heller seems poised for international prominence. But she says that she plans to remain based in Canada. "It's so beautiful and so free," added the redheaded Heller, "and there are so many opportunities for young people like me."

A PASSION FOR THE CLASSICS

"No matter where you are in this country," says New York-born broadcaster *Augustine* LaPina, "you should be able to sit down with your radio and listen to the great music happening today." Starting in October, she will have a chance to make that possible as host of *Arts Network*, an hour's evening drama and classical music program. "You get feeling you get when you hear a piece of music for the first time—that's what I want to get across," LaPina, 40, told *Maclean's*. "It's the things to be passionate."



LaPina: "There is the great music happening today"

Expecting the worst

Canadian Mike MacDonald says that he goes physically prepared for his stand-up shows by practicing a rigorous exercise regimen. When stepping up for a performance at the 11-day Just for Laughs festival starting this week in Montreal, MacDonald managed to get necking and lose weight. "I keep making a lot of mistakes and I've lost 15 pounds, and all of a sudden a 34,000-lb weight is going to fall on my head!" he said. Reflecting on that fear of impending disaster, the 36-year-old MacDonald added ironically "Life is too good."

COURTESY OF CTV



Rainey (left), Rick, a disturbing image of displaced Canadian workers continues to haunt the often emotional debate

BUSINESS

THREE FOR THE SHOW

It was a free trade nightmare come true. With just 30 days' notice, General Tire Canada Inc., based in Hanover, Germany, announced last Aug. 30 that it was closing its Canadian plant in Berlin, Ont., and shifting its production to the company's larger and more efficient facilities in the United States. General Tire's move represented the largest plant closure in Ontario last year, throwing 872 employees out of work and into a job market for which few were prepared. Only half had completed high school and even fewer had other job experience or specific skills. "Looking back, we were out our worst case," said John Rainey, a 19-year veteran of the company. "We had warnings, but as the only General Tire plant in Canada we were

**AS A NAFTA PACT
NEARED REALITY,
CONCERNS GREW
OVER POSSIBLE
DANGERS TO
CANADA'S ECONOMY**

compliant about our job," he added. "We believed the best way about global markets and the need to be competitive." And last weekend, as Canadian, American and Mexican officials worked towards a North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in Mexico City, there were signs of growing concern over new trade dangers to Canada.

Now, a year after the General Tire closure in Ontario, many of the plant's former workers have retrained new job openings, as well as counselling and employment search assistance, through a co-operative program sponsored by the federal and provincial governments, the company and the local union. But the disturbing image of Canadian workers abruptly displaced by retooled North American markets con-

tinues to haunt the often emotional debate over the merits of international free trade. According to *The Dallas Report*, released just before the NAFTA talks in Mexico, 66 per cent of Canadian opinion opposed free trade. 54.4 Dwyer Road, who coordinates the education of General Tire employees in Berlin. "There's just so much fear about free trade and so much resistance to change in preparation for it."

Recently, an outbreak of better trade disputes, which have damped the \$200-billion annual trade between Canada and the United States, has increased the reluctance of Canadians to embrace free trade. Despite the 1989 Free Trade Agreement, the two countries have clashed six years over beef, steel, automobile imports, automobiles and equipment. Indeed, just one day before the three-way NAFTA negotiations began, the U.S. government levied a 50-per-cent duty on beer from Ontario sold in the United States, effectively blocking Canadian brewers from sales to their largest export market. A few hours later, International Trade Minister Michael Wilson responded with a matching duty on beer sent to Ontario by the Heileman and Stroh's breweries, the two U.S. firms that first complained about the Ontario tax.

Although jurisdiction over beer disputes falls under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and not under the FTA, trade consultant Peter Clark of Grey, Clark, Stein and Associates Ltd. in Ottawa said that the U.S. action is a pull over the NAFTA proceedings. Clark said, "It's hard to negotiate in good faith if one party is ignoring the process in another forum." Indeed, at hearings with Wilson last week, officials from Ontario and British Columbia urged withdrawal from the talks. Scott B.C. Trade Minister David Axworthy. "There needs to be some significant improvement to spirit that would give some sense of security for another trade agreement."

The mechanisms for settling trade disputes will be critical to making any NAFTA deal succeed, according to trade experts. The potential for complex disputes, they note, increases with the volume of trade and the number of partners in a trade pact. In the case of a NAFTA, the resolution of disagreements is complicated by the fact that Mexico law is based on the European tradition of civil law, rather than the English common law heritage that is shared by Canada and the United States. "It's easy for the Canadian and American lawyers to pick up one another's law," said Donald McKee, dean of commerce law at the University of Ottawa.

Some critics of the FTA are calling for a new framework that relies less on interpretation and more on specific written rules about the settlement of trade disputes. Noted Clark, "Unsettled detail will definitely reduce the possibility for misunderstandings."

Clark's point is reinforced by the July 16

initiative of major Canadian steel producers. To sidestep the FTA dispute settlement process, and to preserve the \$3-billion annual trade between Canada and the United States, they have agreed to suspend a trade protection work. "Now FTA, most importantly, 1989-1991 after the 1988 Auto Pact, it would allow North American steel producers to avoid situations like the steel dumping charges filed between the two countries at the end of June. Scott Frederick Telmer, chairman and chief executive officer of Stelco Inc. in Hamilton. "We have decided to take action and develop our own solutions rather than wait for the harmonization of their interpretations."

For his part, law dean McKee cautions against blaming the wording of the FTA for disputes and trying to spell out every detail of such a process under a NAFTA. "In order to preserve the flexibility necessary and anticipate future developments, nothing should be put down too much," he said. "It's better to try for a framework that can be adapted to new circumstances as they arise." He added that in the United States, there is a strong tradition of litigation and court action, and such cultural differences must be weighed when Canadians assess the U.S. approach to trade.

But even those who criticize the dispute settlement process under the existing FTA concede that the severity of the economic recession could not have been anticipated in 1988 when it was drafted. And that economic slump, they say, has had a major impact on the increase in trade tensions between Canada and the United States. Clark said, "When the water is low, then we can see rocks. The number of complaints is about screaming for market share at high tides."

There is a large debate about whether U.S. industry programs and government agencies have in fact become more aggressive in their efforts against various imports from Canada. Indeed, the trade tension so pronounced that during a visit to Washington in May, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney publicly chastised President George Bush over the hard line that U.S. officials were taking on auto and software trade.

Earlier that month, the United States had imposed a 15-per-cent duty on Canadian softwood lumber, an action that Canada is currently appealing. "We are not sure if such a result there have been repeated skirmishes over the North American content of cars shipped from Canada to the United States. To avoid a 25-per-cent duty, 50 per cent of a car's contents must be manufactured in Canada or the United States."

Whatever dispute settlement agreement results from the latest NAFTA round in Mexico, Canadian trade analysts say that they do not expect it to affect the issues already in contention between Canada and the United States but as the cumbersome agreement system and access to specific written rules about the settlement of trade disputes. Noted Clark, "Unsettled detail will definitely reduce the possibility for misunderstandings."

Clark's point is reinforced by the July 16

Business Notes

SUPPORT FOR THE EICHMANNS

Laurence Tisch, the influential chairman of New York City-based First Interstate, has joined a campaign led by Paul Ruckman in an bid to reclaim the Rochester family's stake in the Canary Wharf project in London. The British businessman who took charge of the project after it was declared bankrupt on May 23 is considering, others from his personal library, including Ruckman. However, a spokesman for one of the 11 Canary Wharf lenders said that the bid from Ruckman, whose Toronto-based Olympia & York Development Ltd. sought U.K. court protection from creditors in May, was "a suggestion."

COMPETITION ON HOLD

The Federal Court of Appeal granted Bell Canada and five other telephone companies a hearing on Oct. 12 to contest key provisions of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission's June 12 ruling that would open long-distance telephone service to competition. A spokesman for Toronto-based United Communications Inc., the largest new entrant in the long-distance field, said that despite the court challenge, his company will offer a rival service by October.

DEPARTURE FROM DORASCO

In a surprise move, William Wallace, 56, resigned as chairman of the Dorasco Steel Division Inc., a position that he had held for only two months. Wallace, a 36-year veteran of the steelmaker, supervised the process that led to the disastrous 1988 acquisition of Steel City Mills, Ontario-based Algonquin Steel Corp. Ltd. A successor was not immediately named.

SOUTHWEST SELLS SEAR SHARE

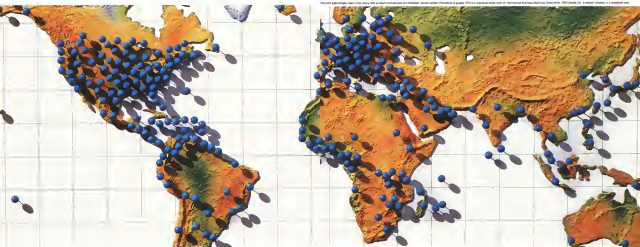
Southern Bell sold its 22-per-cent non-voting stake in Toronto City, ending a controversial 1982 swap swap between the two Toronto-based companies publishing giant. Southern will use the proceeds from the sale of the 9.4 million shares, worth about \$191 million, to help pay down its \$455 million in long-term debt. Toronto said that it will keep its 23-per-cent voting stake in Southern.

IN THE THIRDS OF CHANGE

Money-lending Central Guaranty Trustors Ltd. will likely seek court protection from its creditors, although chairman Thomas Hopwood did not say a date. The Halifax-based parent of Canada Guaranty Trust, a bank insurance, Central Guaranty Trust, is negotiating with 25 debtholders to restructure \$400 million in debt.

DEBORAH MCNEELY

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BLACK POWER

Coward Black's enthusiasm for Napoleon emerged early as a child, he entertained his affluent parents' guests with his recital of Napoleonic trivia and, as a young man, he often spoke eloquently of Bonaparte's battlefield strategies. Black's well-publicized success, even led one enterprising Toronto artist to paint a portrait of the husky six-foot, two-inch financier dressed as the demure French emperor (Black declined to purchase the painting). But now, at 47, the Canadian press tycoon has become critical of his former hero. "He had some talents that I admire, perhaps," Black told Maclean's during an extended interview recently. "But he had an arrogance about conquests which I find rather disturbing. And as a statesman, he had no policy except war." Shifting uncomfortably in a smug, heavy settee in his antique-filled Toronto office, Black added: "One could, I suppose, draw the lesson from Napoleon that if you make war enough, you will eventually lose."

The implied lesson for corporate imperialism is clear. Indeed, some of Black's closest business associates, including bankrupt developers Robert Gompson and Paul Reichman, are now paying the price of launching too many expansionist campaigns. Still, Black's own appetite for corporate conquests unabated. Flashed with the successful acquisition last December of Australia's second-largest newspaper group, John Fairfax Group Pty. Ltd., Black is now negotiating to buy The New York Daily News, that city's largest-selling tabloid. He is also eyeing the assets of London's Mirror Group Newspapers PLC, after its last proprietor, the flamboyant publishing tycoon Robert Maxwell, died (after he left, rumpled as was posited from his yacht near the Canary Islands last November).

Sapped. The voracious pace of acquisitions will cost Black's holding company, Toronto-based Hollinger Inc., even further to an industry whose best days may well be in the past. Newspapers in North America and elsewhere have yet to average less than 20 years of recession-sapped advertising, and some media analysts predict as worrisome future for any product that depends principally on paper and ink (page 34). Black, however, insists that unlike Napoleon, he will know when to stop. Hollinger's chairman (he controls just over 50 per cent of the company himself) told its annual shareholders' meeting in Toronto last month: "The financial landscape is littered with companies that have overreached." Black added: "We are determined never to be among them."

But the apparent contradiction between Black's proud words and his aggressive actions is typical of the man. Indeed, much of the fascination with the controversial businessman stems from the inappreciable contradictions that continually surround him. Although he can be scathing in questioning the intelligence of people he disagrees with,

AN ENIGMATIC MEDIA BARON DEFIES CRITICS AND EXTENDS HIS EMPIRE

Black himself did poorly at school, where he disappointed himself mostly in a self-described "discipline problem." Indeed, Toronto's notoriously Establishment Upper Canada College expelled him for smoking and selling examination papers. Kicked in England, he converted to Roman Catholicism several years ago but declines to explain why, saying only that he is "not a particularly religious man." Black has frequently expressed a distaste for reporters, calling them "a very degenerate group" with "a terrible incidence of alcoholism and drug abuse" who are often "ignorant, lazy, opportunistic, intellectually dishonest and unconsciously suppressed." Still, he provides jobs for hundreds of journalists and, last week, married another one, Maclean's columnist Barbara Ansel.

Black's contradictions extend to his attitude towards his native Quebec. He lived in Montreal for several years during his 20s, speaks French fluently, wrote an exhaustive 700-page biography of former Quebec Premier Maurice Duplessis and has commented sympathetically on the province's desire to protect its culture. Yet, paradoxically, he has also contributed money to the campaign led by Premier Manning, leader of the Reform party, who steadfastly opposes political concessions to Quebec. Even once executive acknowledge that Black frequently bores them: "I like him, but I don't understand him," said Peter Bradshaw, who has known Black for more than a decade and who sits on Hollinger's board of directors. "He is, as they



Black and Ansel at the Hollinger dinner: newswire



WHERE THE PRESSES RUN

The four major Canadian newspaper companies, Toronto-based The Thomson Corp., Southam Inc. and Torstar Corp., and Vancouver-based Hollinger Inc., own and operate 69 daily papers in cities across Canada. They have also extended their corporate reach to include media holdings in the United States, Britain and Australia. Since 1989, Hollinger has also owned *The Jerusalem Post*.

The North American, European and Australian daily newspaper holdings of Canadian-based media companies:

THOMSON CORP.:	165
HOLLINGER INC.:	100
SOUTHAM INC.:	17
TORSTAR CORP.:	1



FUTURE SHOCK

HAS THE PRESS LOST ITS APPEAL?

Newspapers of the future will keep the news, but get rid of the paper. At least that is what Roger Filler's prediction is. Filler, media development at the U.S. newspaper group Knight-Ridder Inc. of Miami, Fla. for the past 12 years, has been working on a project to transform the traditional newspaper from a folded sheet of newspaper, delivered to millions of doorsteps each morning, into a portable notebook-sized computer. And in addition to delivering the previous day's events and other features, it would perform a multitude of other high-tech services at the top of a screen. While enabling readers to tune the usual collection of news stories, the electronic newspaper could deliver video clips and provide sound. Advertisers might include an entire catalogue that readers could call up directly by typing in all as it appears on the screen. "The paper is to be the news that the viewer is in the McDonald's hamburger," declared Filler. "You throw it away. It's the contrast that people want."

Competition. Filler's electronic newspaper is one of many ideas that the industry is trying with in an effort to compete for the leisure time world of tomorrow. Newspapers are strategically located in a business that many executives agree will be absolutely critical to the economy of the future information. But the industry is facing a host of problems that include competition from other news and advertising media, long-city traffic congestion which makes the daily distribution process increasingly difficult and expensive, and a voracious demand for newspaper circulation that is being pushed on to the political agenda by environmentalists. So far, there is no consensus of what newspapers, whose essential format of manufacturing has shaped since the early 18th century, should do to adapt to changing technology and the evolving needs of the future. But Filler's futuristic vision to the view of Charles Dwyer, research manager with the Canadian Daily Newspaper Association in Toronto, who claims that newspapers may not need to change much. Declared Dwyer: "There was a 'newspaper' functioning in Rome 2,000 years ago. And I expect they'll continue to be around for a long time to come."

But the marketing ideas that newspapers serve

has changed dramatically in the past three decades. A smaller percentage of the population, especially among young people, now reads newspapers regularly; more than the number of Canadian households that receive a newspaper each weekday has dropped to three out of five from four out of five. People are reading more than ever, but with the multitude of



Swain: searching for ways to attract young readers

specimens magazines available, there is more competition for readers' time. Newspapers have also lost advertisers to a growing number of magazines, television channels and radio stations. And some experts predict that the continuing explosion of electronic media technologies will continue to erode the influence of all print-and-ask publications. Said advertising buyer Peter Swain, president of Toronto-based Media Buying Services Ltd.: "There are no newspapers on the bridge of the Starline Enterprise."

The biggest doubt permeating the industry is the most fundamental one: how many people will still want to read to obtain information in the next century? Many newspaper executives express optimism about the medium-term ad-

book. Said Russell Malt, president of the Southern Newspaper Group: "As the population grows in the next 10 to 20 years, we are fairly confident that newspaper reading will increase." David Platt, a University of Toronto economist, said that one recent study of leisure activities showed that reading will be one of the fastest-growing pastimes in the next 25 years as members of the baby boom generation approach 50 and abandon more physically demanding pursuits. But the newspaper's long-term popularity is less certain. Some experts say that children who have been raised with television, video and computer may not enjoy reading as much as their parents. And a larger proportion of Canada's immigrant population may not speak French or English fluently enough to become regular readers of traditional mainstream newspapers. Another trend is likely to reverse in the coming years.

At the same time, advertisers will continue to have a growing number of alternatives to newspapers. Although the papers are still attracting the large ad share of advertising revenue, their portion is shrinking. Newspapers' share of total ad revenues has dropped to 23 per cent from 27 per cent 10 years ago. Still, some industry executives think that many other popular advertising media, including television and direct mail, have problems of their own. They conclude that newspapers have an opportunity to regain some lost ground—if they act boldly. "Each of the major media is going through a metamorphosis," said media buyer Swain. "A lot of advertisers are getting frustrated with television and I think newspapers are beginning to realize that there is blood in the water when it comes to TV."

Electronic. Swain, for one, says that new technology like Filler's will be the key to attracting a new generation of young readers to altered forms of newspapers. "Children are growing up very familiar with personal computers," said Swain, "and they seem more interested in the tactile, automatic nature of that technology." Still, if Filler's vision is to become a reality, it must overcome a number of obstacles. It will be high-tech and actually expensive. And reaching habits may be slow to change as people adapt to a continuous flow of updated information all day, as opposed to waiting for their daily newspaper at a prescribed time. As well, an electronic newspaper might lack some of the convenience of a traditional newspaper, like being able to tear out stories for future reference.

But if Filler and Swain are right, newspapers can look forward to profitable survival for decades to come. Canadians may have to look elsewhere, however, for something with which to lose the last good and sweet the dog.

KAREN DALLGREN and
ANDREW WOODS in Toronto



Hincdale: 'If it didn't exist, it would have to be invented'

ROLLING WITH A CHANGING WORLD

THE CANADIAN PRESS EYES ITS FUTURE

Called telephone callers have asked to staff about printing rates. One story, perhaps apocryphal, notes a caller who wanted his press printed in a hurry. Even after 75 years as a pervasive influential factor in the life of the nation, The Canadian Press is still newsworthy and celebrated by the millions of people who, every day, receive and react to information provided by newspapers, radio, television and other media including Maclean's by CP and its broadcast news subsidiary, TV and CP through its allied foreign agencies, Reuters and The Associated Press, is the primary source of news from Canada around the world. But now, the national news service is threatened by financial and editorial challenges from the newspapers that it is funded to serve, and which owe CP executives at CP's 161 company-owned, 465 from a 1984 pool of 450 because of early retirement and layoffs. CP's New York City headquarters has been closed last year, leaving behind staff correspondents in Washington, London and Moscow only.

By member papers. And with all but a handful of CP members now linked to others in 10 newspaper groups, several of them operating their own news networks, CP's staff-reported secret may be in jeopardy. Hunter Group, vice-president of the United States as vice-president and director of editorial development for Toronto-based Thomson Newspapers Group, said one of his executives studying CP's operations, questions whether many of CP's staffing functions are viable. "In light of what the newspapers can do for themselves."

Cuts. Under the impact of the economic slump, CP's annual budget is slashed at \$191 million of roughly \$15 million, about \$34 million from member dues and the rest from the sale of services to 450 radio and TV stations, businesses and governments. The number of CP's employees has dropped to between 450 and 465 from a 1984 pool of 450 because of early retirement and layoffs. CP's New York City headquarters has been closed last year, leaving behind staff correspondents in Washington, London and Moscow only.

Although two commissioners federal studies of the media in the past two decades argued that CP should do more, and less, the four-member commission of CP's governing board of newspaper executives (five each representing groups and independently) is examining whether the agency should retreat towards its 1971 origins as business a system for exchanging member papers' local reports. Said Gordon Bell, CP's board chairman and publisher of the Southern Newspaper Group's Atlantic Spectator: "The big debate is to the extent to which CP should generate its own material. Right now, it's one-year test. CP's special features will be a separately listed, optional service. If the reduced revenue, says CP president Keith Kincade, "we would supply only our spending on salaries."

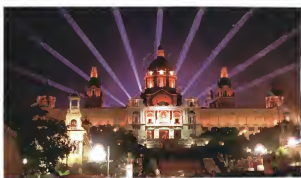
Speed. The agency is accustomed to rolling with change, whether dictated by new technology, by an impulse to increase the volume and variety of its reports, or by the often conflicting requirements of its member papers. Its operation of a multilingual wire service in English and French has evolved from the lack of the Morse code key and the clutter of telegrams at 50 words a minute to satellite computer signals sent in lightening speed.

CP's shifting emphasis on getting out the hard news quickly and correctly has been produced by efforts to broaden the definition of news and to explain how it affects Canadians. It has been a new recruiting ground for other organizations (such as the Ontario Press Syndicate, several and expanded for CP's 1986 anniversary), has been a little for Canadian journalists, and others who write, since the bookish first editor appeared in 1940 CP has been a key instrument in making Canada's newspapers, control, the very of other countries.

Throughout its evolution, the organization has learned much of all to survive, even flourish, in part by catering to the diverse interests of its member newspapers and their readers. A survey of no different newspapers across the country is now being done. But on a single day they produced a total of 758 or roughly. Only three stories on one bodies, one from Vancouver appeared in all six papers.

Sometimes, the 40-page or a report breaches the monopoly of its provider. As often, the news is used without credit. Kincade, who has a 1984 pool of 450 because of early retirement and layoffs. CP's New York City headquarters has been closed last year, leaving behind staff correspondents in Washington, London and Moscow only.

KAREN DALLGREN and
ANDREW WOODS in Toronto



SPORTS

ties and coverage in Canada. Ben Johnson showed his continuing ability to fascinate the media. The prosecution on the Canadian team is a surprise at itself. After his brief three-day reign as the king of the Seoul Games ended in a positive test for the banned anabolic steroid

steroids, few sports observers expected him ever to don his country's Olympic uniform again. But after serving a two-year suspension from competition, Johnson established his claim to a place on the team by placing second in Montreal's sprinter Leroy Searle—in trials in June. Whether that burst of speed represents a return to his old form will become clearer when 100-m qualifying heats begin on July 31. But Johnson has already demonstrated that he still has a certain flair for notoriety: news reports indicated that while he had initially flown to Barcelona, he quickly left for Lisbon, Portugal, to attend the premiere of his completed his previous training. Still, fellow sprinter Anthony Wilson, who will share with Johnson in the 4 x 200-m relay, denied that the famous world-record holder was a source of friction on the team. "It's a good guy," said Wilson. "If anything he's brought us down."

For all the media attention paid to Johnson, it paled beside the press and public media over the American hurdler Devon Tynes. "It is very much like traveling with 12 rock stars," said Chuck Daily, coach of the squad that was expected to grab the gold with five of its most suspense. But for most of the athletes who hope to bring

home more than a memory from Spain, the task will be nothing less than Olympic. Canadian decathlete Smith will need to maintain his focus with near perfection through each of his 10 grueling events, if he is to beat the gold, American David Johnson. Canada's other synchronized swimmers, the identical Vilagos twins Philip and Vicki, will need to put intricate Pribelich's private tragedy out of mind if they hope to strike gold. World champion free-diver under Henrik Lannestad will need formidable winds as much as talent to beat the rest of the world's elite across the finish line in the seven races of his event.

And the first combination of factors could make Canada's volleyball team from its fifth-place world ranking onto the medal stand. "We're not a world power," acknowledged head coach Brian Watson. "But if anyone gives us even a little room, we'll back into it." By contrast, for many other athletes, including him, is not an expectation. Albert's gymnast Jennifer Wood, 22, and on the eve of the Games that she has already met her own oldest ambition. "Just since I was younger, I've always wanted to be the first African to make the gymnastics team." For her, as for each of the athletes competing under the smiling Mediterranean sun this week and next, appearing at the Olympics is an achievement in itself. For them, most of all, the Games remain magical.

CITRUS WOOD in Barcelona

Laser lights behind Barcelona's National Palace; Privilege (below): 'getting my confidence back'



SPORTS WATCH



The Olympic conundrum

BY TRENT FRAYNE

As it sorts of people get turned away by the Olympic Games. My alternate favorite was a guy writing in *Time* magazine about Carl Lewis, the American sprinter and long jumper, the week the 1984 Games opened in Los Angeles.

"What he does is so simple, and how he does it is so complicated," Carl Lewis is a basic mystery," the anonymous fellow wrote, warning up for the reader: "Just let me say, how far he jumps, just serve to establish the precise lengths to which one can go. Consider that a superman, some obscure hero, the common perception of a strong man. Lewis is physically the most advanced human being in the world."

Obviously, the Olympics place the challenge. NBC Sports paid \$477 million for TV rights to the Games in Barcelona, and is running 35 hours of runners and sprinters racing and swimming. Sports Illustrated magazine says NBC is employing 700 people, 77 cameras and 279 miles of cable to get the job done. Moreover, the expensive live events in 2000 July 22 must naturally be an Olympic problem.

In Canada, the CCTV cameras is capturing an idea at home with 1700 hours of Olympic viewing and, even more telling, the Games have created such excitement at the Toronto Globe and Mail, a paper that in recent years appears to have abandoned sport, that the paper has dispatched two staff writers to Barcelona.

Such over-enthusiasm for the Olympics is at variance with what happens during the three years and 50 weeks between Games. Where is there a camera or a paid scribe at Greek-Roman wrestling matches, a water polo tournament or a canoe race, not to talk to wonder about the worldwide ride: athletes, promoters, coaches and managers?

For that matter, where are the people? For three years and 11 months only close friends and lovers endure a view of the performers in their element, yet whole national teams suddenly crumple with a top priority.

It is an occasion that began baffling your

We send athletes to competitions around the world to engage in sports that nobody looks at except for two weeks every four years

agent during the Montreal Olympics when, day after day, a full house of 60,000 people piled into Olympic Stadium. Even so, there were few television moments to comment, people watching East Germany play Poland for the gold medal. Success in Canada!

But not. The most enormous throng had sat in a hall, daily two totally embraced by the struggle of three tall, lean high jumpers seeking the gold medal. There were the strutting Dwight Gooden of the United States, a great and impressive Duke, Jackie Wessels, and a pale spiky-haired Canadian, Greg Joy. As darkness fell and the lights high in the stadium roof dimmed, the twinkling candles, three men, held the clearing often totally silent as the slowest bar was raised ever higher. Then Stoen fell by the wayside and the bar went to 2.25 m for the Polish star Wessels and the home boy Joy.

Suddenly, it was over. Wessels cleared the 2.25 barrier (whatever the 2.25 barrier is, who beyond the level of Grade 6 arithmetic can translate 2.25 in into English) and Joy raised in three attempts to pull even.

It is easy to appreciate how dense of this nature can delight a captured audience, but space policy reducing the stadium leave to watch East Germany attack Poland for the gold.

people doing there in the first place? By contrast, four years earlier I had returned down to Toronto's Exhibition Stadium in the heat of day for the Canadian track and field championships. Of course, track and field, with the wire sprinters and rollers and mangled death tests, is the glamer event of every Olympics. Yet on this day of national championships in Toronto, there weren't more than 1,200 people in the cavernous old grandstand.

The Olympic conundrum can be regarded in two ways. (a) If the Games are so popular that NBC rolls out \$177 million for the television rights and CTV tears the decks for 1700 hours of sweat and tears, why does nobody bother with those games between the Games, or do it practically nobody watches water polo players, javelin throwers and 5000 m runners for three years and 50 weeks, why does television lose its troubles over them for two weeks?

The Canadian government spends enough to make a dent in the national debt providing athletes with a living wage and sending them to competitions around the world to engage in sports that nobody looks at except for two weeks every four years. We live in a cold climate but the truth is we are just recently interested in at least half the events at the Winter Olympics. Who bothers to watch speed skating (speed skating)? What about luge? (For that matter, what about luge?) The luge? (For that matter, what about luge?) Actually, what about luge? And we are sitting on a stool in an audience during the long gap between Olympics.

Four years ago during the Calgary Winter Games, the wind blew, the sand stirred, the clouds dried in mid-air, and events were postponed. Five to seven days later, the wind was right, was of thousands showed up to watch luge, bobsled and so jumping. It was here that Eddie Edwards, who always came dead last, took a gold medal in people's hearts with his courageous, foolhardy and hapless attacks on the 75- and 30-m slush jumps. But in the four years since Calgary, have anyone these days have bugged towards luge?

Oh, the Games produce heroes, all right, not all of them with a winner's gold. Four years ago, there was Larry Lemieux, sailing off Pusan in the Summer Olympics. Second in silver medal, he landed about his body from a sailor who had been startled from a capsize boat and who was drowning in the raging sea. His clothes and equipment were dragging him down in high, whipping winds. Lemieux dived in and helped the struggling sailor rise on his boat, stopping all chance for a medal.

Larry is a selfish guy who came from a big Edmonton family—six boys and two girls—of which he was the youngest. Barely when he grew himself up, he was single and 20, a man who travelled the world in a career Canadian athletic career. His first-class boat and obviously over the wintered Olympic sport. You know, winning isn't everything.

Such isolated incidents speak well for the sort of character that Olympic training may help develop, but it still doesn't explain why 60,000 people in Montreal paid to watch East Germany attack Poland for the gold.



RCMP constables on duty in Inuvik: a big change from a few years back

THE NORTH

Letter from Inuvik

Northern Links

The thrashing of traditional native drums alternated with the sounds of rock 'n' roll from performing on the stage in Inuvik's Chief Jim Knox Park. "The Canadian People's Sound" band's energetic drum performance shows the sparkling waters of the Mackenzie River. The scene easily symbolized the mingling of native and non-native cultures last week at a meeting of the 15-year-old Inuit Circumpolar Conference. Those contacts appeared in easy forms as about 200 delegates and hundreds of observers from the Arctic regions of four nations gathered on the western edge of the Northwest Territories.

While onlookers roared on steering whale skin and bannock (fried bread), residents in the annual Northern Games plucked wild ducks, stamped seas and muskoxen and engaged in a traditional, competitive of pumpkins high to reach a dead-end snail race with both feet. After setting a power double-bunk record of six feet, Jason Jacobson, a 14-year-old from the Beaulieu Sea community of Tuktoyaktuk, swam up his achievement in a distinctly nontraditional manner. Observed Jacobson: "I could just about kick Michael Jordan to the chin."

The light-hearted reference to a star of American professional basketball reflected the enormous influence of the culture to the south as the week-old North-South Speakers at the conference, meeting in the bag-laden community of Inuvik's St. Alexander MacKenzie School, represented Canada's Inuit and related peoples from Alaska, Greenland and Siberia. Delegates from all four Arctic regions spoke of being buffeted by a range of environmental and social problems. They ranged from the longtime and still crippling pervasive difficulties with

sootblack to the relatively new evidence of nuclear contamination of the Arctic seas. The delegates discussed their fears that officials of the former Soviet Union had allowed tons of nuclear waste to be dumped into Soviet Arctic waters for several decades. Quebec Inuit Mary Simon, president of the conference, said that there have been reports of Russian dumping that, as a result of Soviet policies, "tons of nuclear fuel waste sank in Arctic waters." As well, there have been similarly disconcerting reports of several Soviet nuclear submarines sinking in Arctic waters.

Another concern among delegates from all regions was the economic hardships resulting from the international decline in fur sales. "The Inuit people never reintegrated a species," Len Carpenter, an Inuit businessman from Sachs Harbour, N.W.T., told the conference. Said Carpenter, referring to pressure from animal-rights activists in Europe to end trapping: "We cannot understand why countries like Switzerland and Monaco can impose things like banning the fur trade on us."

Those and other concerns have encouraged the Aboriginal peoples of the Arctic to demand self-government within the vast territories that they inhabit. Greenland's 55,000 Inuit have already achieved that goal. Members of Siberia's Inuit, known as the Yngst, recently renegotiated their status to become the autonomous, or partly self-governing, region of Chukotka in the new Republic of Russia.

In Alaska, the Inupiat and Yupik communities of about 40,000 people are debating whether to launch a battle for statehood for their lands in the state's north and west. In Inuvik, Thomas Saiton, Canada's minister of Indian affairs and northern development, said that the cabinet had accepted in principle a proposal that would divide the Northwest Territories into two regions, allowing the but a limited form of self-government in its eastern Arctic territory to be called Nunavut. Ottawa is expected to pass legislation by next summer to carry out the long-debated division of the Northwest Territories.

In Inuvik, Inuit officials discussed a wide range of social problems, including family violence, the growing incidence of AIDS, suicide and sexual abuse—often fuelled by prostitution—that continue to frustrate Inuit aspirations throughout the North. "Our communities are sick," said John Schaeffer, chairman of the board of the Alaska Federation of Natives. "It is a time to elect leaders who are sober. And to resist that way."

Still, there were also signs that Inuit are taking on new, responsible roles. As drummers performed on the rhythms of a traditional dance during Inuvik Day at Chief Jim Knox Park, five Inuit officers in Inuvik's 15-member RCMP contingent jumped on to the regular stage and began dancing. The constables were in full dress uniforms, including scarlet tunics, leather boots and spurs. Impassioned local residents remarked that they could not remember Muskrat ever joining a native dance before. Greg Gordon, one of the five constables, noted that five years ago, most Inuit serving with the Mounties were apical native constables who had limited training and promotion. "We are full constables," said Gordon. "It's a big change from five years back." But it wasn't one of the noteworthy changes—for better or worse—during a week of examining the Arctic of the 1990s.

JOHN ROWSE is in Inuvik

HEALTH

A medical mystery

AIDS-like illness occur without HIV

Ever since French scientists discovered the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) in 1983, medical researchers around the world have worked on the assumption that the virus causes AIDS. In recent months, some scientists have challenged that belief and suggested that any illness closely related to AIDS, may not be the direct cause.

Another startling possibility emerged last week when about 10,000 scientists met in Amsterdam for the eighth international symposium on AIDS. Several scientists, including one Canadian doctor, told of treating patients who suffered from symptoms that resembled those of AIDS, but who showed no signs of having HIV. Dr. Alan Ronald, an infectious-diseases specialist at the Health Services Centre in Winnipeg, said in Amsterdam that a middle-aged Manitoba man, who did not test seropositive, died of an AIDS-like illness seven years ago. "He was completely like an AIDS case," said Ronald, "except that he did not have the virus."

Another intriguing possibility was raised by Dr. Robert Gupta, an immunologist at the University of California at Irvine, who announced at a news conference in California that he had found an unusual virus in a woman suffering from an AIDS-like condition. But many scientists attending the conference minimized the significance of Gupta's findings. They said that for more laboratory work is needed to determine whether a patient's immune system is altered. Some conference participants told a headline page towards Gupta's announcement: Said Dr. Max Essex, a virologist at Harvard University in Cambridge, Mass.: "I'm not overwrought by it. It's plain the odds are 10 to 100 per cent that this is not a new virus."

Still, the disclosure that doctors have discovered diseases that closely resemble AIDS without HIV being present might disturb some questions about an already perplexing disease. Dr. James Curran, an expert on AIDS with the National Centers for Disease Control, noted that the mysterious new virus may be linked to cases of an extremely rare, rare immune system disease discovered accidentally by scientists studying AIDS. Kenneth Roach, a doctor of the molecular virology and immunology program at Hamilton's McMaster University, reported one such case last week. He said that doctors from an Ontario residen-

who, although he is seropositive, has been suffering from AIDS-like symptoms. Said Roach: "The fact is, we are looking carefully at these cases in ways we didn't before. It's not surprising there are other mechanisms that can lead to immunodeficiency."

Indeed, some experts cautioned that the

early onset of blood and nerve deterioration. Dr. Michael Ayn, national director of blood services with the Ontario-based Canadian Red Cross Society, said that all donated blood is tested for at least five different viruses. As well, Red Cross workers question potential donors about their personal lives in order to screen out those engaged in risky behavior. "They are grilled by a nurse to see whether they could be remotely ill," said Ayn. "We put everything together and it forms a very good safety net." But in the United States, Dr. Anthony Fauci, head of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, advised scientists and medical researchers to publish their findings promptly if they come across cases of HIV-free AIDS to test risk to public health. In many cases, scientists have several accounts to justify the results of research in scientific journals.

Meanwhile, new data suggested that the



AIDS demonstrators in Amsterdam: an epidemic still developing in unexpected ways

cases discussed so far must be studied further because there are no obvious reasons why the patients were displaying AIDS-like symptoms. Dr. David Ho, a scientist at the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center in New York City, told the conference that he had found 11 cases in New York and Los Angeles during the past three years. Some of the men were homosexual, but some of them were neither gay nor intravenous drug users, another high-risk group. He also noted that the sexual partners of two of the men had not displayed any symptoms in Irvine. Gupta said that he and his team of researchers found that a woman of 66 and her 38-year-old daughter both had the same newly discovered virus, but only the mother had developed symptoms of AIDS. Said Gupta: "We can't say if this is a new virus or an old one. All we can say is it's different."

Although the scientific community was divided over the significance of the new cases, public health officials said that there appeared to be no reason for excessive concern, particu-

larly because of blood and nerve deterioration. Dr. Michael Ayn, national director of blood services with the Ontario-based Canadian Red Cross Society, said that all donated blood is tested for at least five different viruses. As well, Red Cross workers question potential donors about their personal lives in order to screen out those engaged in risky behavior. "They are grilled by a nurse to see whether they could be remotely ill," said Ayn. "We put everything together and it forms a very good safety net." But in the United States, Dr. Anthony Fauci, head of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, advised scientists and medical researchers to publish their findings promptly if they come across cases of HIV-free AIDS to test risk to public health. In many cases, scientists have several accounts to justify the results of research in scientific journals.

Meanwhile, new data suggested that the

BY ARCY JENSEN

Five for the road

Canadian writers discover adventure abroad

It is getting harder to write an original, disarming travel book. Most of the world has been thoroughly explored, while television has brought the mountains of Tibet and the steams of Easter Island into everyone's living room. As a result, some travel writers in search of a new territory now go to dangerous extremes to find it, roving across oceans alone or setting off into vast deserts on foot. Others take advantage of jobs in unusual circumstances or foreign countries, spicing narratives out of the daily stuff of their lives. Still, the best of them take readers on a refreshing mental voyage to people or places they know little about.

Canadians have recently published a number of books that report on their particular corner of the human experience. In *Shutouts in Winter: A Hockey Powerstruggle* (HarperCollins, \$10 pages, \$24.95), Charles Korn recounts a period in the late 1980s when he and his wife, Mary Lasky, taught English at a Beijing college. The couple became friends with many of their students and fellow teachers and witnessed their mounting hunger for democratic change—a hunger that culminated in the Tiananmen Square massacre of June, 1989.

The dramatic change in Pinyin's attitude after Tiananmen forms the backdrop, among rows of his book. After government troops crushed the demonstrations, young people who had been open and optimistic became guarded and depressed. One student told Pinyin that she and her six female roommates were spending all day in bed, making the thickest towels they could find. It helped them to "forget together," she explained.

Another friend, Zhou Shuren, a hard-drinking executive who lives rock music, was interrogated by police who thought that a rock tune he was carrying contained coded Western propaganda. When he explained that it was about sex, the police chief made him translate all of it

—and was furious when there was too little sex. But Zhou was lucky; the chief let him go.

Pinyin, now a Montreal-based writer, is candid and funny about his own cultural awkwardness, particularly his antipathy with Chinese politeness and reserve. And while there is little

German cart to visit the capitals of Eastern Europe—with Warsaw in the lockstep. Their journey takes them to the houses of many colorful relatives, all survivors of recent European history with its wars, death camps and totalitarianism.

MacLean has a good sense of historical irony, especially about the way communism has warped lives. On a riverbank, Ray sees two elderly fishermen who have broken a hole through the remains of the Berlin Wall. "They sat on the bank, rods dangling in the cold water, as they had when they were boys before Stalin had taken away their access to the river." The scene of wasted lifetimes, one of MacLean's main themes, is straightforwardly clear. Yet the author's self-dramatizing cleverness mars much of the book; his characters become caricatures, and the reality of Eastern Europe

Sometimes, generalization, a translating dictionary and meeked trust succeed in bridging the gap. Skopje hardly re-creates one midnight on the travel dock when the drink went with some Russian crewmen. "Our heads are thrown back to the black sky and the stars," she writes, "and there is no sound except the sea rushing past the hull and our own breathing and bursts of laughter." With Young, Skopje has created a book of miserably eloquence and unbearable poetry.

Dalhart's fugitive character Gary Ross, a former Saturday Night magazine editor whose earlier book *Shogun: The Inevitable Obsession of Rivalry* (Morrow, \$14 and the *Playboy* October, \$14 pages, \$20.95), Ross tells the strange story of a Peruvian, Misael, a crew member who add has two full-grown female elephants to Eddie and Dick Deane, father-and-son seamen from California. He subsequently kidnaps the pair in the belief that their own owners were mistreating them, and in 1984, he went into hiding with his "girls"—all seven tons of them. Misael managed to stay at large for five years, depending on the kindness of animal lovers for refuge. Dick Deane, meanwhile, encountered North America to permit.

In Ross's account, which is at once thoroughly researched and slickly entertaining, Misael emerges as just another man, part socially obtuse crank. And like many of the night's



Shogun: at sea with Russian fishermen

books participants, he seems even more out of the elephants.

CBC foreign correspondent Nirmal, on the

other hand, succeeds at making the exotic look only ordinary. *Scoring Myself Again: Far-Flung Adventures of a TV Journalist* (HarperCollins, \$20 pages, \$24.95) is a first-person account of Abel's adventures in making documentaries for the CBC's *The Journal*. Funny and witty on defining the image of the business foreign correspondent, it focuses on a month-long shoot in Iran and Kuwait in the spring of 1980, after the Persian Gulf War.

At the time-long border, he witnesses what he describes as "the ancient Calcutta of oil"—thousands of Kurds, Bosnians, Iraqis, camped in tents. While the crew films tragically everywhere in Kurdish territory with a heavily armed force and, later, in Kuwait, a mother of seven whose soldier husband after returned, Abel's various preoccupations on the often troubling incidents of foreign coverage. Obsessive bureaucracy, malfunctioning equipment, punishing heat and sexual drives constantly threaten to derail them. And, at times in Abel's account, the actual events they are covering recede into the background. But the author has an eye for absurdity along the way: the hotel manager who reasonably expects him to fix the lock, as well as Abel's own self-acknowledged preoccupation with food. Modest in scope, and lacking photos and an index, *Scoring Myself Again* is a slight work—but of sharp, brief glimpses that jump when it comes to the big picture.

JOHN HEMMIG, DIANE TURKIE
and PAMELA YOUNG



Bill: on the run for five years with two elephants, he seems part quixotic hero, part crank

poetry in his account, it is a portrayal of a high order, clearly and simply written, yet always suggestive of the profound Chinese drama.

For Ray MacLean, too, people take precedence over landscape. In *Stalin's New Europe* (HarperCollins, \$11 pages, \$24.95), MacLean, a Canadian based in London, focuses on Eastern Europe after the Communist collapse. The book begins with the sentence, "Westerners peeked into Zita's life when he dropped on to my uncle's bed and killed him dead." That sets the tone for the rest of *Stalin's New*, which seems as much picturesque novel as travelogue. The first-person narrator, Ray, and his Aunt Zita set off in a decrepit Toyota to chase East

also vacates at a fog of exaggeration.

By contrast, the characters in *Shogun* are barely evocative. *Shogun: At Sea with Skopje* (HarperCollins, 146 pages, \$21.95) is sharply etched against a landscape of fog. "I am always the stranger on the ship no matter how many times I go to sea," Skopje writes. Working as one of Canada's foreign fishermen observers, she spends months at a time on ships off the West Coast of North America—usually on Russian or Polish vessels. The author conveys the grinding adversity of the fishermen's lives—and the loneliness that she feels, shared ship with others but isolated from them by language and gender.



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A government that has run out of puff

The foremost of impostor Ross Perot, the billionaire who wanted to be president until he discovered it involved work, has put attention on the people who enter public life. Why do they do it? Is it worth the candle? What drives them on?

As Canadians meet—not so politely—to get the Conservative government into the polling booth, it is useful to pause and observe that eagle eyes in power have fixed to those of the top. Just look at those senators under it. Mulroney's eyes. It is a face by Senators. Why didn't he stay a lawyer?

Sometime once described Lee Clark as a Brito puff. No matter how much you look him, he springs back to his previous self. The nature people pound him because of his conservatism to Quebec? His own wife said the government of which he is a cabinet minister? The Prime Minister dumps on his great new constitutional solution? The Reform seems likely to take his Alberta seat from him? Never mind. Look at that weary face, those sagging joints. The Brito puff is intact.

This is a tired cabinet. John Crosbie, son of a millionaire Newfoundland family, gold-corded minister in every emergency he has ever attended, once the most experienced politician in Canada, has to stand his hotel door after public functions against it to fight off his angry Newfounders who wish to hang him because of the disappearance of the oil. He seems likely, as with Clark, not to run again.

The perpetual widow type, Michael Wilson—a home in Toronto already purchased prior to his return to Bay Street—gives us making those inconceivable speeches, getting on and off airplanes, so one listening to him, just another interchangeable part of a cabinet that has run out of puff.

This is the government that has lost its minister, however temporarily, as a minister motorcycle rider. Audette's career disappeared as a German trip club, yet another victim from the barman after an expense-account line rule that seemed to take her from the North Sea to the Mediterranean.

The middle Minnowski, founding as-



per dollar numbers and statistics he may or may not understand, has lost the good reason and generosity that was his major strength as a cabinet (all of two) member.

Kim Campbell, the brave and beautiful lawyer from Vancouver, his new general Barbara McDougall as the best choice to be the first female Tory leader and possibly prime minister. Pierre Boudre, the most ambitious pretender to the Mulroney ministerial crown, has the persona of a post-office clerk to most Canadians.

The return who are puzzled by most everything this government does, are puzzled by what Marcel Masse—who takes none of all to go to art galleries and invent new museums for Quebec—as doing as minister of defense. Mulroney, who does not sleep back him for fear of outraging Quebec nationalists, whom he has a strong following, apparently has decided to make a joke of his.

The Tories, with a cabinet three times the size of the one in Washington, do not give the impression of having any new representative blood. Mulroney's personal pick as his successor, Jean Charest—is in to retain that deeply won Quebec base—is a lighter and charming fellow, but almost unknown in 1986, as The Rest of Canada is now known.

The malaise on the government benches, the morales, is apparently capable of infection elsewhere. Across the face, Jean Charest seems a man on the hunt for a policy, or a consistent stand, perhaps a principle or two, a political forward, even in the markets holding steady about anything is before the election will reach his before a reporter asks him a question.

The story has sent out a search party in a quest for Audrey McLaughlin, who seems to have been captured by space fishermen and carried off to some hidden destination. Her silence on major issues and sensible promises are almost none—a natural leader with the respect of Cooper the Ghost. (It is a theory like Boudle).

Those who know and follow sleep note that Quebec's Rousselle, before winding his watch, first checks over his shoulder, fearing the reaction of Jacques Parizeau, who with his new barber and tailor has updated his image so that he now resembles someone out of a 1950's detective movie.

The stockpiling and open-bounty Bob Rae of Ontario, named by the Ontario, new feels the recipe for his province's travails to be monetary reform for his creditors and the conclusion in the longer period. Getty of Alberta has proved to be a conservative, willing to risk the possibility of Quebec if only he can avoid the platform of the free-market and open-bounty system that one never be equal under the parliamentary system.

There is gloom most everywhere, the most sensible politicians in the land seeming to be McKenna of New Brunswick and Glen of Prince Edward Island, the two without any power. Rosemary of Saskatchewan is considered because of his province's economic plight. Rosemont of the Left Coast, isolated by his inactivity, looking to Japan, armed and looked down upon because of the misadventure of his lovely commitments, is not the factor he would be to another location.

It is clear only an election can clear the air, or a referendum asking if you would like an election, or a referendum dependent on a still-standing question as to how many angels can dance on Oyde Mirrored's head.

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*MSRP Dynasty LE with 26C option package plus driver's side air bag. \$1250 rebate charged to dealer. Excludes license, freight, insurance, registration, and taxes. See dealer for details. Dealer may sell for less. †See Dealer for details.